

THE ALGONKIN AFFINITY OF YUROK  
AND WIYOT KINSHIP TERMS,

BY

E. SAPIR.

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Extrait du *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*,  
Nouvelle série. t. XV, 1923, p. 36-74.

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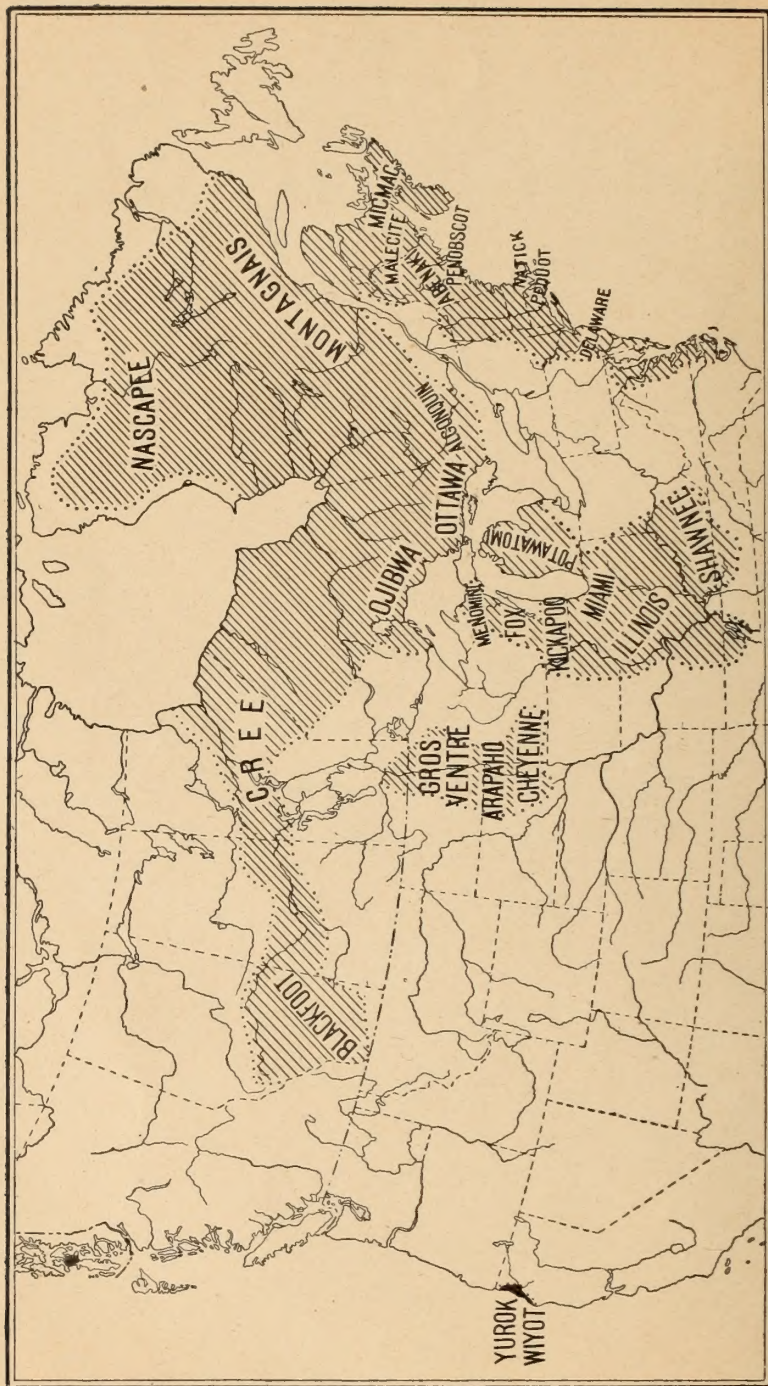
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ALGONKIN, YUROK, AND WIYOT  
 (Algonkin area and locations based on T. Michelson's map  
 in Bureau of American Ethnology, 28th Annual Report).



# THE ALGONKIN AFFINITY OF YUOK AND WIYOT KINSHIP TERMS

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## INTRODUCTION

In his study of the kinship systems of California<sup>1</sup> Kroeber includes an account of the Yurok system.<sup>2</sup> In discussing its general features, he remarks :

“The Yurok system stands quite apart from any other yet recorded in California. The failure to distinguish between grandparents, grandchildren, uncles, aunts, nephews, and nieces according to their male or female lineage seems extraordinary after acquaintance with the kinship reckonings of the other Californians. Civilized influences cannot be thought of in this connection, for if there is any tribe in the state that preserved the substance of its old life intact until recently it is the remote Yurok.

“Separation of relatives in the male and female line is so frequently accompanied by a development of true reciprocal expression in California, in the Great Basin region, and in the Southwest that the two phenomena must be taken in connection. As might be anticipated, the Yurok evince little feeling for reciprocity, not only in the kinship classes just mentioned but in the other group which lends itself readily to reciprocal formulation, the relatives by marriage. This is the more remarkable because in the Oregon region, as instanced by the Takelma and the Chinook, systems of California-Plateau-Southwestern type seem again to prevail. It is necessary to look as far as the Coast Salish, or the tribes of the eastern United States, before terminologies of the general plan of the Yurok one are again encountered. As the Yurok are Algonkin, the interesting problem is raised whether it is possible that they have

1. A. L. Kroeber, *California Kinship Systems*, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 12, pp. 339-396, 1917.

2. *Op. cit.*, pp. 374-376.

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brought the outlines of an ancient system with them from this presumable eastern source of origin, and succeeded in maintaining the same for an undoubtedly long period in an entirely different cultural setting."

Further on in his paper <sup>1</sup> Kroeber classifies the Californian kinship systems treated by him into three groups: a southern group, consisting of Mohave and Luisiño; a northwestern group, consisting, so far as he knew, of Yurok alone; and a large central group, comprising by far the greater number of kinship systems in the state. Of the second of these groups he remarks:

« The northwest Californian type, if Yurok may be regarded as indicative of such a one and is not merely representative of its own particularity, disregards the distinction of cross and parallel relatives and reveals virtually no impulse toward reciprocal expression. The Yurok, to put it differently, come much nearer ourselves and the majority of Plains Indians than do any central or south California people in thinking in nearly every instance of the sex of the denoted relative and only rarely of the intermediate one. »

The facts brought forward by Kroeber raise a most interesting question. If, as I attempted to prove several years ago, <sup>2</sup> Yurok and Wiyot are outlying members of the Algonkin linguistic stock, it becomes a fascinating problem to ascertain whether or not the kinship systems of these tribes are comparable, structurally and linguistically, with the systems of the Algonkin languages in the narrow sense of the word. It is hardly to be expected that tribes so remote in geographic and cultural respects as the Pacific and Plains-Atlantic groups of Algonkin peoples should exhibit any very close parallelism in kinship terminology, nor would the lack of such parallelism necessarily militate against the correctness of the genetic linguistic hypothesis. Positive evidence, however, tending to connect the two groups of kinship systems would constitute welcome confirmatory evidence for this hypothesis.

Since Kroeber's Yurok data have been published, E. W. Gifford has collected another set of Yurok kinship terms. This set corroborates Kroeber's in nearly every case, besides supplementing it on several points. Differences will be noted as they occur. A set of Wiyot terms has also been obtained by Gifford. A study of Kroeber's Yurok material and of Gifford's manuscript Yurok and Wiyot data, kindly put at my disposal by the collector, has still further convinced me of the Algonkin relation-

1. *Op. cit.*, pp. 378, 379.

2. E. Sapir, *Wiyot and Yurok, Algonkin Languages in California*, American Anthropologist, N. S., vol. XV, 1913, pp. 617-646.



ship of Wiyot and Yurok. Not only are general similarities of kinship type apparent, as Kroeber's remarks would lead us to surmise, but many of the specific terms themselves are so similar as to leave little doubt of their genetic relationship. Incidentally, the new data corroborate a number of phonetic laws suggested in my previous paper." <sup>1</sup>

I shall present the specific linguistic comparisons first, then a brief comparison between the Yurok, Wiyot, and Algonkin kinship systems.

### I. COMPARISON BETWEEN YUROK, WIYOT, AND ALGONKIN KINSHIP TERMS <sup>2</sup>

1. W. *yi-dac* "my father." -*dac* probably consists of stem -*da-* and suffixed -*c*; cf. W. -*dar* and Y. *tac* below (n<sup>o</sup> 2). *yi-* is first person singular possessive.

1. *Op cit.*, pp. 639-646.

2. Abbreviations:

W. = Wiyot	Del. = Delaware
Yur. = Yurok	G. V. = Gros Ventre
	Kick. = Kickapoo
	Mal. = Malecite
	Mic. = Micmac
	Mont. = Montagnais
Abn. = Abenaki	Nat. = Natick
Ar. = Arapaho	Oj. = Ojibwa
Bl. = Blackfoot	Pen. = Penobscot

My Algonkin sources are as follows:

Cree: A. Lacombe, *Dictionnaire de la Langue des Cris*, 1874 (see his "Liste des noms de Parenté," pp. 664-671).

Fox: W. Jones, *Algonquian (Fox)*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 40, part 1, 1911, pp. 733-873 (*passim*).

Kickapoo: W. Jones, *Kickapoo Ethnological Notes*, American Anthropologist, N. S., 1913, pp. 332-335 (see "Terms of Relationship," pp. 333-335).

Ojibwa: Bishop Baraga, *A Theoretical and Practical Grammar of the Otchipwe Language*, 1878 (see pp. 55-61); also *passim* in *A Dictionary of the Otchipwe Language*, 1878.

Delaware: D. G. Brinton and A. S. Anthony, *A Lenápe-English Dictionary*, 1888 (probably Unami dialect; Anthony's supplementary forms are Munsie); E. Sapir, MS vocabulary obtained in 1911 at Six Nations Reserve, Ontario (according to Michelson, either Unami or Unalachtigo dialect). My own forms are quoted as Del. (S). One or two Delaware forms that go back to Zeisberger are also taken from Trumbull's *Natick Dictionary*.

Natick: J. H. Trumbull, *Natick Dictionary*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 25, 1903.

Penobscot, Abenaki, Malecite, Micmac, and Montagnais: F. G. Speck, *Kinship Terms and the Family Band among the Northeastern Algonkian*, American Anthropologist, N. S., 1918, pp. 143-161; E. Sapir, MS vocabularies of Abenaki, Malecite, Micmac, Monta-

Y. (Kr) <sup>1</sup> *tot* "father" (vocative), *we-tot-oc* (perhaps better *-toto-c*) "his father;" Y. (G) *tot* "father" (vocative). *-oc* occurs frequently in Yurok as kinship suffix; it is probably diminutive and perhaps comparable to W. *-c* of *-dac*. *we-* (in some forms *u-*) is third person possessive. Y. *tot* (*-toto-*) is probably reduplicated from *\*to-*.

Abn. *n-dadan* "my father;" Mal. *n-dadad*. Algonkin *\*n-*, *\*ně-* is first person singular possessive. Abn. *-dadan* is obviously reduplicated from *\*-dan*, which probably contains suffixed *-n* (see W. *-dar* below and Algonkin forms for "daughter," n° 2). Algonkin reduplicated *\*-tata-* corresponds to Y. *tot*. (It is tempting to connect with these Wiyot, Yurok, and Abenaki-Malecite forms also Cree *n-ottá-wiy* "my father," vocative *n-otta*; Mont. *n-ota'-wi'*, an Algonkin *\*-ot'a'* being made to correspond to W. *-da-*. Cree and Mont. *-wiy*, *-wi'* are suffixed elements, as indicated not only by vocative *-otta* but by analogous forms for "mother," see n° 3. It is practically certain, however, that Cree-Montagnais *-ot'a'* is developed from Algonkin *\*-o'sa-*; cf. Fox *n-osa*, Kick. *n-ōba*, Oj. *n-oss*, Del. (S) *n-ux'wa*, Nat. *n-ōosh*, Mic. *n-utc*. Algonkian *\*o'sa-w-* is implied not only in Cree-Montagnais but in Ar. *n-eisa-nq* (vocative *n-eixq*), G. V. *n-iiθi-nq*, in Algonkin terms *\*n-o'sě-wa'*; with analogous suffix is Ar and G. V. *n-ei-nq* "my mother." Another example of Cree *tt* corresponding to Algonkin *'s* is Cree *-utte-* "to go," cf. Fox *-usä-*, Oj. *-osse-*.)

2. W. *yi-dar* "my son" < *-dan* (W. *r* and *n* interchange constantly). Kroeber, in his Wiyot vocabulary, <sup>2</sup> gives *dār*, *dān-* as "father; son." Though not corroborated by Gifford's data, this may be quite correct and would be parallel, in its reciprocal significance, to W. *yid-okar* "mother,

gnais, obtained in 1911 at Pierreville, Rivière du Loup, Cacouna, Pointe Bleue respectively, quoted as (S).

Blackfoot: C. C. Uhlenbeck, passim in *Flexion of Substantives in Blackfoot, A Preliminary Sketch*, Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afdeling Letterkunde, N. R., deel XIV, n° 1, 1913; and in *Some General Aspects of Blackfoot Morphology, a Contribution to Algonquian Linguistics*, ibid., deel XIV, n° 5, 1914; C. Wissler, *The Social Life of the Blackfoot Indians*, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. VII, 1911, "Relationship" on pp. 14-16; L. Spier, *Blackfoot Relationship Terms*, American Anthropologist, N. S., 1915, pp. 603-607.

Arapaho and Gros Ventre: A. L. Kroeber, *The Arapaho*, Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. XVIII, 1902, pp. 9, 40; *Arapaho Dialects*, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. XII, 1916, pp. 71-138.

1. Kroeber's forms are indicated by (Kr); Gifford's by (G).

2. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. IX, 1911, pp. 406-423.



daughter" (n° 3). W. *-dar*, *-dan-* is doubtless to be analyzed into *-da-* (see n° 1) and suffixed *-r*, *-n-*.

Y. (G) *ne-tac* "my child" (vocative). Probably to be analyzed into *-ta-* and diminutive *c*, postvocalic form of *-oc* (see n°. 1). It may thus be morphologically identical with conceptually reciprocal Wiyot *-dac* "father" (n°. 1).

Cree *n-tân-is* "my daughter"; Mont. *n-dan-c*; Kick. *ne-tân-eb-a*, vocative *ne-tâba*; Oj. *nin-dân-iss*; Del. (S) *n-da'n-xô*; Nat. *nut-taun-es*; Bl. *ni-tzuna*; Ar. *na-tâne*, vocative *na-tâ*; G. V. *na-tan*. Cree *-is*, Mont. *-c*, Oj. *-iss*, Del. *-xô*, and Nat. *-es* are forms of Algonkin diminutive suffix *\*-ÿss-*; this element occurs frequently in Algonkin kinship terms. Algonkin *\*-ta'-n* "daughter" is doubtless analyzable into *\*-ta'-* and suffixed *-n-* (as in W. *dân-* "son"). This is directly suggested by vocative *-tâba*, *-tâ* of Kickapoo and Arapaho, which implies an old stem *-tâ-* (*-ba* is vocative, cf. Kickapoo vocatives *ne-gwihi* and *n-ôcihi* from *ne-gwi-ô-a* "my son" and *n-ôci-ô-em-a* "my grandchild"). Proto-Algonkin *\*-tan-* must be presumed to have originally meant "child" (probably as reciprocal to "father") and to have become specialized in its significance either to "son" (Wiyot) or "daughter" (Algonkin proper), while in Yurok its close relative *-ta-c* preserved a more primary genetic significance.

NOTE TO N°S 1 AND 2. It is impossible to fail to recognize that n°s 1 and 2 are, in origin, identical terms. The stem *\*ta-* originally seems to have denoted both "father" and "child" (perhaps, with strict reciprocity, "man's child"). The following table presents its history:

Bare stem : Kick *-tâ-ba* "daughter."

With *-c* suffix : W. *-dac* "father"; Y. *-tac* "child."

With *-n* suffix : W. *-dan* "son"; Algonkin *-ta'-n-* "daughter."

Reduplicated : Y. *tot* "father"; Abn. *-dada-n* "father."

3. W. *yi-d-oka-r* "my mother, daughter." Stem probably *-oka-* with intervocalic *-d-* and suffixed *-r* (cf. *-dar* in n° 2). (In his grammatical sketch of Wiyot, Kroeber does not explicitly refer to intervocalic *-d-* after possessive prefixes before vowels, but it is implied in *haluwi* "boat," *ru-d-aluwi* "my boat," *ku-d-aluwi* "your boat." It occurs so frequently as apparent stem initial in Wiyot kinship terms that it can hardly be considered other than a prefixed or intervocalic element. In other words, it would be identical with Algonkin *-t-* employed under precisely parallel circumstances, e. g. Cree *ni-t-*, *n-t-*, Fox *ne-t-*, Oj. *ni-nd-*, Abn. *n-d-*, Bl. *ni-t-*, *ni-ts-*). Gifford gives *yidukulk* for "my niece (endearing);" perhaps this is only a phonetic variant (*yi-d-ukwx-*) of *yi-d-oka-* "mother,

daughter " with diminutive suffix *-tck*, *-tk*. Kroeber, in his Wiyot vocabulary, gives *gwalc* for " mother ; " perhaps this is abstracted from a form *yi-d-ogwa-tc(k)*. It seems possible that *-oka-* became labialized to *-okwa-*, *-uku-*, *-(o)gwa-* (*k*-sounds frequently become labialized to *kw*-sounds after *o*, *u* in America).

Y. (Kr) *kok* " mother " (vocative), *u-kok-oc* (perhaps better *-koko-c*) " his mother, " *we-ts-eko* " his mother ; " Y. (G) *kok* " mother " (vocative), *ne-ts-eko* " my mother " (reference). *u-kok-oc* is probably more endearing in tone than *we-ts-eko*. *kok* (*-koko-*) is reduplicated from *\*ko-* ; cf. *tot* (*-toto-*) in n° 1. *-eko-* of *we-ts-eko* seems to correspond to W. *-oka-*. *-ts-* may be an intervocalic element analogous to Wiyot *-d-* and Algonkin *-t-* (see above) ; Y. *-ts-* may be assibilated from original *-t-* (Yurok interchange between *t* and *ts* is exemplified in *qox-t-o* " one month " ; *qox-ts-emoi* " one fathom ; " *toon-o* " four months " ; *tsoon-amoï* " four fathoms ").

Cree *ni-kâ-wiy* " my mother, " vocative *n-ega* ; Mont. *nâ-qa-wi-* ; Fox *ne-gy-a* (stem *-gi-*) ; Kick. *ne-gy-a*, vocative *n-ägy-e* ; Oj. *nin-gâ* " my mother, " *o-gi-n* " his mother, " vocative *nin-ge* ; Ottawa<sup>1</sup> *niŋ-ga-shi* " my mother, " *o-ga-shi-wan* " his mother ; " Del. *guka* " mamma, mother, " Del. (S) *gik'*, *gi'k'a'* (*g- < ŋ-g-*) " my mother, " Munsî *gichk* (i. e. *gixk*) " my mother, " *gabowes* (i. e. *ga'o-we-θ*) " mother ; " Nat. *nw-ka-s* " my mother ; " Pen. *ni-ga'-wâ-s* ; Mic. *n-ki'-tc* ; Bl. *ni-ksi-sta* (*-ksi-* regularly assibilated from *\*-ki-* ; Wissler gives as plural *ni-ksöstak* " my mother and her sisters ") ; Ar. *neina* " my mother, " G. V. *neina* (these forms go back to *\*nē-ki-wa'* ; *-k-* regularly disappears and Algonkin *w*, as always, becomes *n*), vocative Ar. *na'ā* (< Algonkin *\*nē-ka'* ; cf. Cree). These forms point to three distinct but related stems in Algonkin : *\*-ka'-* or *\*-ka-* (Ojibwa, Ottawa, Natick, Arapaho), often with *-w-* suffix (Cree, Montagnais, Munsî, Penobscot) ; *\*-ki-* (Fox, Kickapoo, Ojibwa, Micmac, Blackfoot), with *-w-* suffix in Arapaho and Gros Ventre ; and reduplicated *\*-kik'a-* (Delaware-Munsî). Vocative *\*n-ε'ka*, *\*n-ε'ki-*<sup>2</sup> (Cree, Kickapoo) is probably merely rhetorically lengthened *\*nē-ka*, *\*nē-ki-* " my mother ; " on the other hand, it may represent a fourth stem form, *\*-ε'ka-*, (*-ε'ki-*), comparable to Yurok *-eko* (see above). Presumably *\*-ka-* and *\*-ki-* originally varied in some manner analogous to Oj. *nin-gâ* " my mother, " *ki-gâ* " thy mother, " *o-gi-n* " his mother ; " Ar. *n-ei-*, *na'ā* (Algonkin *\*nē-ki-*, *\*nē-ka'*). — Comparing Algonkin with Wiyot and Yurok forms, we find that Algonkin *\*-ka'-*, *\*-ka-* (e. g. Oj. *nin-gâ*) corresponds, on the whole, to W. *yi-d-oka-r* ; Algonkin *\*-ka-ssē-*, with diminutive suffix (e. g. Nat. *nw-ka-s*), to W. *yi-d-oka-tc(k)* ;

1. Ottawa forms are sometimes given by Baraga.

2. I use  $\epsilon$  for the Algonkin prototype of Cree *e*, Fox *ä*, Oj. *é*, Ar *ä*, *ei*.



Algonkin *\*-kik'a* (e. g. Del. *gik'a'*) to Y. *kok* (-*koko*); perhaps also Algonkin *\*-ε·ka-* to Y. *ne-ts-eko*. Algonkin *\*-ki-* forms and forms with *-w-* suffix seem to find no analogues in California.

4. W. *yi-d-utcik* "my child". In his Wiyot vocabulary Kroeber gives *tsék, tcik, tsak* "child." These forms are probably variants of Gifford's *-utcik* and related to it as Kroeber's *g(w)a-tc* "mother" is related to Gifford's *-oka-r* (see n° 3). It may be that in both cases Kroeber obtained genuine absolute forms parallel to Gifford's *-u-* forms with possessive prefix. Presumably *utcik* is to be analyzed into *-utci-k*; for *-k-* suffix, cf. n° 19, 27.

Cree *n-t-øj-im* "my (man's) brother's son"; Mont. *n-t-oc-əm* "my nephew," *n-t-oc-əm-sque-m* "my niece" (literally, "my nephew-female"); Oj. *ni-nd-øj-im* "my (man's) brother's son," *ni-nd-øj-im-ikwe-m* "my (man's) brother's daughter" (literally, "my nephew-female"), *ni-n-d-øj-im-iss* "my (woman's) sister's son, daughter"; Pen. *n-d-u's* "my daughter," *n-d-oχ-i'm-i's* "my (man's) brother's daughter, (woman's) sister's daughter"; Abn. *n-d-os* "my daughter," *n-d-oχ-i'm-i's* "my (woman's) niece"; Mal. *n-d-os* "my daughter," *n-d-oχ-i'm-i's* "my (man's) sister's daughter, (woman's) brother's daughter"; Mic. *n-t-us* "my daughter." These forms point to Algonkin *\*nē-t-o's* "my daughter" (possibly originally "my child"); with possessive suffix, *nē-t-o-χ-əm* "my nephew, niece" (often specialized dialectically: man's parallel nephew, parallel nephew or niece, parallel niece, woman's niece, cross-niece). Its restriction to females in Eastern Algonkin dialects is doubtless secondary, as indicated by Cree and Ojibwa cognates.

5. W. (Kr) *watce-r* "girl." *-r* is probably suffixed as in *yi-da-r* (n° 2) and *yi-d-oka-r* (n° 3).

Cree *awási-s, awási-ss-* "child," *n-t-āwási-m-is* "my child" (*-m-* is possessive); Pen. *awxs-i's* "little child," *n-d-awax-əm* "my sister's son" (male speaking), "my brother's son" female speaking); Abn. (S) *apsi-s* "child"; Mal (S) *wa·sis* "child," also (from Speck's data) *n-t-əwax-əm* "my sister's son" (male speaking), "my brother's son" (female speaking); Mic (S) *məđji-wa'd j-i'tc* "child"; Ar. *hanax-a'ä-hi'i* "boy" (*hanax-* < *\*hawas-*). These forms point to Algonkin *\*awas(i)-, \*was(i)-*, as absolute always with diminutive *-ssē-*. Probably related to this *\*was-i-* is incorporated *\*-os-* (*\*-oχ-*) "child": Cree *-os-* (e. g. *peyak-os-ân* "an only child," *kik-os-ew* "she has a child, she is pregnant"); Oj. *-o'nj-*, *-onj-* (e. g. *nin manē-onj-e* "I have no children," *nin nij-ōnj-e* "I have two children").

NOTE TO N<sup>os</sup>. 4 AND 5. Speck remarks in regard to Penobscot *n-d-u's* and its Eastern Algonkin cognates: "Possibly a worn-down form of *n-d-awxs* 'my creature.' Cf. *n-d-awasi's* 'my child.'" This etymology does not seem unplausible, but the contraction would have to be considered of great age — not Eastern Algonkin merely or even Algonkin (in its narrow sense), but proto-Algonkin. Wiyot *watce-r* "girl": *yi-d-utci-k* "my child" corresponds remarkably to Algonkin *\*(a)wa's* "child": *\*nē-t-o's* "my daughter," *\*nē-t-o's-ēm* "my nephew, niece." There is only one hitch, phonologically speaking, and that is perhaps not insuperable. In those Algonkin languages that have nasal consonant groups (e. g. Ojibwa, Delaware, Natick, Penobscot-Abenaki) Algonkin *\*(a)wa's* appears with nasalized *s*: Pen. *n-d-awqz-əm* "my cross-nephew," *n-d-awqz-i's* "my child," Abn. *aps-is* "child," to which corresponds Oj. incorporated *-ōnj-*. Algonkin *\*nē-t-o's*, however, always appears with unnasalized *s*: Oj. *nin-d-ōj-im*, Pen. *n-d-u's*, Abn. *n-d-os*. The validity of Speck's proposed etymology depends, at last analysis, on whether or not Oj. *-ōnj-* "child" is related to Oj. *-ōj-im* "nephew, niece."

6. Yur. (Kr) *n-oukcu* "my child;" Yur. (G) *n-ooksa* "my child" (address). If *-cu, -sa* is a suffixed element, it may be possible to connect *-ouk-, -ook-* with Yur. (G) *ne-ko* "my dead child, sibling." In other words, the simple stem (*\*-o'ko-*) would be best preserved in the term for the deceased kin. This seems very doubtful, however, and *-ko* of *ne-ko* may be connected rather with *kotl (koL)* in Waterman's *kotl n-oukcu* "dead my-child, my deceased nephew."

Cree *ni-kos-is* "my son;" Mont. *nə-ʔuəs*; Fox *ne-gwis-a*, vocative *ne-gwi<sup>i</sup>*; Kick. *ne-gwi-θ-a* "my son, brother's son," vocative *ne-gwi<sup>i</sup>hi*; Oj. *nin-gwiss*; Del. *quis* "son" (i. e. *kwiθ*), Del. (S) *gwi-θ-αθ* "my son;" Mal. *nō-gwus*; Mic. *n-quəs*; Bl. *n-ókós-(a)* "my child" perhaps to be understood as *no'-ko'-s*); Ar. *ne-'i* "my son" (vocative; < *\*nē-kwi*, cf. *na-<sup>q</sup>*, n<sup>o</sup> 3). These forms point to Algonkin *\*-kwiss-*, weakened in some dialects to *\*-kwëss-* (whence labialized *-kwuss-*, *-koss-*). It is quite probable that *-ss-* is diminutive (such forms as Cree *ni-kos-is*, Del. *gwi-θ-αθ* would then be double diminutives, common enough in Algonkin) and that the simple stem *\*-kwi-* appears, as vocative, in Fox and Kickapoo (*-gwi<sup>i</sup>hi* is formed from *-gwi-* as *tāha* from *tā-n*; see n<sup>o</sup> 2). Bl. *n-ókós* may correspond closely to Yur. *n-ook(sa)*, proto-Algonkin *\*n-o'kwi-*, *\*n-o'kwë-*) or, more likely, it may be merely labialized from *\*nē-kwë-ss-* (cf. Mal. *nō-gwuss*).

6a. Yur. (Kr) *ne-megwahce* "my boy, son."

Nat. *mukka-tchouk-s* "boy;" Narragansett<sup>1</sup> *muckqua-chuck-s* "boy,"

1. Narragansett forms are quoted by Trumbull from Roger Williams' "Key.

*num-muckquá-chuck-s* " my son, " *num-muck-iese* " my son. " In phonetic orthography these forms are : *mákka-tcák-s* ; *mákkwa-tcák-s*, *nx-mákkwá-tcák-s*, *nx-mákk-i's*. This last form is identical with Mohegan *nx-mákk-ís* " my son. " <sup>1</sup> These forms point to Algonkin \**mákkwa-* ; cf. Yur. *-megwa-*.

7. Yur. (G) *ne-gnemem* " son " (reference). If *-gnemem* can be analyzed as *-g-nemem* with prefixed *-g-*, *-k-* (cf. *ne-k-tsum* " my nephew ; " further *ne-me-k-tsum* " my deceased nephew, " *ne-me-ke-kts-eu* " my dead grandmother " ), *-nemem* would correspond to

Nat. *wun-naumon-uh* " his son, " *nun-naumon* " my son ; " Pen. *n-e'mon* " son, " *n-emxn-i'm-i's* " brother's son " (male speaking), " sister's son " (female speaking), " spouse's nephew ; " Abn. *n-amun* " son, " *n-amun-i'm-i's* " sibling's son " (female speaking). How Pen. *-e'mon* and Abn. *-amun* are to be reconciled with Nat. *-naumon* (read probably *-na'mon*) is not altogether clear, though there can be no doubt that all these forms are closely related. Perhaps *n-e'mon* and *n-amun* are really *n-ne'mon* and *n-namun* or reformed from these originals. Algonkin \**-na'mon*, as compared with Yurok *-g-nemem*, may be due to dissimilation from \**-na'mom*.

8. Yur. (G) *ne-mehi* " daughter " (reference) ; Yur. (Kr) *ume* " girl " (e. g. *wonoyek-c-ume* " sky-in-girl " ).

Del. *amem-ens* (i. e. *amem-enθ*) " child, " Del. (S) *ami'm-εn(t)θ* " child. " Del. *-εnθ* corresponds to Oj. diminutive *-ens*, nasalized form of *-(i)ss-*. Algonkin \**ami'-m-* would be related to Yurok *-mehi* precisely as Algonkin \**awa'si-* (see n<sup>o</sup>. 6) is related to Wiyot *watce-r*.

9. W. *yi-bitco-tc* " my grandfather, spouse's grandfather, " *yi-bitco-x* " my grandparent's brother, great-grandfather ; " Kroeber gives *bitcò-tcker* " grandfather. " *-tc*, *-tck-* of these forms is diminutive ; for *-er* cf. n<sup>os</sup> 2, 3, 5. *-x* of *-bitco-x* may be a compounded form of *-dux* " sibling " (n<sup>o</sup> 11).

Yur. (Kr) *ne-pits-oc* (perhaps better construed as *-pits-o-c* in view of W. *-bitco-tc*) " my grandfather. " *ne-me-pets-eu* " my dead grandfather ; " *-(o)c* is diminutive. Yur. (G) *ne-pits* " my grandfather, grandparent's brother, great-grandfather. " It is possible that Yur. *-pits* is to be analyzed into *-pi-ts*, with diminutive *-ts* (cf. *-ku-ts*, n<sup>o</sup> 10 ; *-rame-ts*, n<sup>o</sup> 21 ; *-wey,i-ts*

1. See F. G. Speck, *Notes on the Mohegan and Niantic Indians*, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. III, 1909, p. 194.



n° 18), *-pi-ts-oc* being doubly diminutive like *-ku-ts-oc*. If so, it must have been re-formed on the analogy of *-ku-ts* "grandmother," from an older *\*-pitso-* as proved by both Wiyot *-bitcò-* and Algonkin *\*-mëco-*. Proto-Algonkin *\*pitco-* or *\*pëtco-* "grandfather," it is barely possible, may be preserved also in Yur. (Kr) *ne-pce-ts* "my father," *u-pci-ts* "his father," Yur. (G) *ne-pce-ts* "father" (reference), *-ts* being diminutive; Yur. *-pce-ts*, *-pci-ts* might go back to an old *\*pëtco-ts* "little grandfather."

Cree *ni-muso-m-* "my grandfather;" Mont. *nə-mocu-m*; Fox *ne-mecō-m-es*; Kick. *ne-mecō-a*, *ne-mecō-m-əθ-a* "my grandfather," vocative *ne-mecō*; Oj. *ni-misho-m-iss* "my grandfather;" Del. *muchomes* (i. e. *muxo-m-əθ*) "grandfather;" Pen. *nə-mo'su-m-əs* "my grandfather;" Abn. *n-maho-m*, *nə-mou-m*; Mal. *nə-mo'su-m-əs*; Ar. *nä-bäcī-bä(-hä)*; G.V. *nä-besci-p*. In Penobscot and Malecite "grandfather" is also used for "stepfather." Closely related forms are sometimes used for "paternal uncle": Oj. *ni-mishō-me*; and "father-in-law": Kick. *ne-mecō-m-a*. These forms point to Algonkin *\*mëco-*; long *-o-* seems vouched for by Fox and Kickapoo, also by *-i-* and *-ei-* of Arapaho and Gros Ventre (Algonkin *u-* vowels regularly develop to *i-* vowels in Arapaho-Gros Ventre and Cheyenne <sup>1</sup>), and corresponds to *-ò-* (long and open) of Wiyot *bitcò-*. *-m-* and *\*-ëss-* are possessive and diminutive suffix respectively: *\*mëco-m(-ëss-)*. For Wiyot-Yurok *p, b*: Algonkin *m*, see Sapir, *Wiyot and Yurok, Algonkin Languages of California*, p. 640, and cf. n° 15.

10. W. *yi-d-oko-tck* "my grandmother, spouse's grandmother," *yi-d-oko-x* "my grandparent's sister, great-grandmother;" Kroeber gives *gò-tck-er* "grandmother." *-tck* is diminutive, as usual (cf. further *yi-ga-tck* "father's brother," *yi-djuu-tck* "nephew"); *-x* "sibling" as in n° 9; *-er* as in n° 9. This leaves *-oko-* as stem, absolute form perhaps in Kroeber's *gò-tcker* (cf. n° 4); *-oko-* possibly occurs also compounded in *yi-d-ok-gas* "grandchild."

Yur. (Kr) *ne-kuts-oc* "my grandmother," *ne-me-ke-kts-eu* "my dead grandmother;" Yur. (G) *ne-kuts* "grandmother, grandparent's sister, great-grandmother." *-oc* is diminutive; *-kuts* is, all probability, composed of *-ku-* and diminutive *-ts*. Of the two diminutive suffixes, *-ts* and *-(o)c*, used in Yurok kinship terms, *-ts* is evidently an older element, corresponding to Algonkin *\*-ss-*; *-(o)c* is used more freely and amalgamates less closely with the stem.

1. This is only one of a number of distinctive traits that Arapaho and Cheyenne have in common. I hope to show in a future article that Arapaho and Cheyenne are, in all probability, not two major divisions of Algonkin but members of a single major division.

Cree *n-okku-m* "my grandmother;" Mont. *n-oqu-m*; Kick. *n-ō'ko-məθ-a* "my grandmother," vocative *n-ō'ko*; Oj. *n-oko-m-iss*, vocative *n-oko*; Del. *obu-m* (misprint for *oku-*?) "grandmother;" Nat. *oku-mm-es*; Pen. *n-ō'kə-m-əs* "my grandmother;" Abn. *n-okə-m-əs*; Mal. *n-ō'kə-m-əs*; Mic. *n-ō'qo-m-i'tc*; Ar. *n-ei-bā-hā*; G. V. *n-ii-p'*. In Penobscot, Abenaki, Malecite, and Micmac "grandmother" is also used for "stepmother." Closely related terms are used in many Algonkin dialects for "paternal aunt": Mont. *n-oqu-m-uc*; Nat. *oku-mm-es*; Pen. *n-ō'kə-m*; Abn. *n-okə-m*; Mal. *n-ō'kə-m*. Also for "paternal uncle": Cree *n-okku-m-is*; Mont. *n-oqu-m-uc*. And "mother-in-law": Kick. *n-ō'ko-m-a*. All these forms point to Algonkin *\*-okko-* (or *\*-ō'ko-*), with possessive and diminutive suffixes: *\*-okko-m-əss-*. Arapaho *n-ei-bā-* and Gros Ventre *n-ii-p'* go back to *\*n-oko-mə-*; *-k-* disappears (cf. n° 3) and resulting contracted *-o-* develops to *-ei-*, *-ii-* (cf. n° 9); Ar. *-hā* is probably diminutive.

11. W. *yi-dux* "my sibling, <sup>1</sup> maternal half-sibling, step-sibling; second cousin, fourth cousin;" Kroeber gives this term as *dök* "brother, sister." It is not clear whether *yi-dux* is to be so analyzed or as *yi-d-ux* with intervocalic *-d-*; cf. *yi-bitco-x* and *yi-d-oko-x* (n°s 9, 10), in which *u* of *-ux* may have contracted with preceding *o*.

Pen. *n-dokan-i'm-i's* "my younger brother, younger sister;" Abn. *ni'dokan* "my older brother." Algonkin *\*-tok-əskw-* "sibling-female, sister" is found in: Nat. *wu-tuk-squ-oh*, *we-tuk-ishqu-oh* "her sister" (*-oh* is obviative); Del. *wi-tg-ochqu-all* "her sister" (i. e. *wi-tg-oxkw-al*; stem *-tg-<-tok-*; *-oxkw-* is "woman, female," cf. *uxkwāu* "woman;" *-al* is obviative). Pen. and Abn. *-dokan-* may be analyzed into *-dok-* (cf. Del. *-tg-*) and suffixed *-an-* (cf. Algonkin *\*-ta'-n-*, n° 2); *-i'm-* and *-i's* are respectively possessive and diminutive suffix. Abn. *ni'd-* and Nat. *weet-* (*wet-*) and Del. *wit-* may possibly point to composition of radical *-ok-* with *wi't-* "together with" (cf. n° 29), Abn. *ni'd-* being then contracted from *\*nə-wi'd-*; Pen. *n-dokan-*, however, seems to offer difficulties, unless it is assumed that it is contracted from older *nid-*. Algonkin *\*-tok-* (perhaps better *\*-t-ok*) seems to have meant originally "sibling" without distinction of sex or age (cf. Wiyot *-dux*, *dök*); it gained such distinctions by means of qualifying suffixed elements.

12. Yur. (Kr) *ts-eihke-ni* "younger brother, younger sister; small," *ne-eihke-u* "my younger brother, younger sister;" Yur. (G) *n-eike-u* "my younger sibling" (address). *-ni* is clearly a suffixed element; cf.

1. "Sibling" means "brother or sister".



perhaps Wiyot *-r, -n-* (nos 2, 3, 5, 9, 10) and Algonkin *-n-* (nos 1, 2, 11, 12). *ts-* is puzzling; it is barely possible that *ts-*eibke-** is compounded of *tsi-* (stem of *tsits*, n° 13) and *-eibke-*.

Fox *n-ī'kā-n-a* "my friend; " Kick. *n-ī'ka* "intimate term of address between men; " Oj. *n-ikā-n-iss* "my friend, brother," *w-ikā-n-iss-an* "my friend, brother." These terms point to Algonkin *\*-ikka-* (or *\*-i'ka-*); for suffixed *-n-* cf. nos 1, 2, 11; *-iss-* is diminutive. It is difficult not to connect with these also Mic. *n-tci'gānā-m* "my younger brother; " its analysis is puzzling, aside from possessive *-m*, but *-tci'gānā-* may perhaps be explained as *-tc-i'gā-nā-*, *-nā-* being equivalent to Oj. *-n-* of *ikā-n-iss-*, *-i'gā-* to Oj. *-ikā-* and Fox-Kick. *-ī'ka*, and *-tc-* unexplained; possibly *n-tc-* < *\*nē-t-* before *i*-vowel.

13. Yur. (Kr) *tsits*, *tcitc* (vocative) "younger brother, younger sister," *ne-tcotc-oc* "my younger brother, younger sister; " Yur. (G) *tcitc* "very young sibling" (address). Yur. *tsits*, *tcitc* probably consists of radical *tsi-*, *tci-* and diminutive *-ts*; *-tco-tc-oc* is a double diminutive, like *-ku-ts-oc* (n° 10).

Cree *nī-si-m* "my younger brother, younger sister; " Mont. *nī-ci-m* "my younger brother, younger sister; brother, sister (in general); " Fox *ne-sī-mā* "my younger brother, younger sister," *u-sī-m-an* "his younger brother, younger sister; " Kick. *ne-θī-mā-'a*; Oj. *nī-shī-me*; Del. *chesimus* "younger brother, younger sister" (i.e. *xēθ-im-uθ*; Algonkin *s*, *ss* appears in Delaware partly as *x*, partly as *θ*), Del. (S) *n-xe'īθ-m-zθ* "my younger brother, younger sister; " Nat. *wee-see-m-uss-ob* "his younger brother, younger sister; " Mohegan<sup>1</sup> *n-ghees-um* "my younger brother, younger sister" (i.e. *n-xi's-an*); Abn. *nī-tce-m-i's*; Mal. *n-o'si-m-i's*; Bl. *nī-sis-(a)* "my younger brother, younger sister" (female speaking), *o-γsis* "her younger brother, younger sister," Wissler *nī-ssiss-a* "younger brothers and sisters" (female speaking). Here doubtless belong also Ar. *nā-bā-bā-bā* "my younger brother, younger sister," G. V. *nā-bā-b-yi* (< Algonkin *\*nē-sē-mē-ss-*, closely parallel to Natick; for Ar.-G. V. *-bā-* < Algonkin *\*-sē-* see Ar. *-hei-*, n° 22). There are clearly two distinct Algonkian prototypes: *\*-si-m-* (*\*-si-m-*, *\*-sē-m-*) (Cree, Montagnais, Fox, Kickapoo, Ojibwa, Natick, Abenaki, Malecite, Arapaho, Gros Ventre); and *\*-si-ss-*, *\*-siss-*, with or without possessive *-m-* (Delaware, Mohegan, Blackfoot). Either may be followed by diminutive *-ēss-* (Natick, Abenaki, Malecite, Arapaho, Gros Ventre; Delaware). In all probability Algonkin *\*-si-ss-*, *\*-siss-* consists, like Yurok *tsits*, of radical *\*-si-* and diminutive

1. From Trumbull.

-*ss-*. This diminutive formation must be extremely old, perhaps proto-Algonkin, for it is followed by possessive *-m-* (\*-*ss-ēm*), whereas ordinarily diminutive *-ss-* is preceded by possessive *-m-* (\*-*m-ēss-*). In Delaware *-xe θ-m-zθ* the relative ages of the two diminutive suffixes is clearly indicated by their position.

14. Yur. (Kr.) *ne-mit(s)-oc* "my older brother;" Yur. (G) *ne-mit* "my older brother" (address).

Del. *ni-mat* "my brother" (Brinton's assistant, Rev. A. S. Anthony, remarks: "used also as friendly salutation between distant relatives"); Nat. *we-mat-ob* "his brother," *nee-mat* "my brother" (Trumbull believes this term to express the "relation of brother to brother").

15. Yur. (Kr) *ne-pin-oc* "my older sister;" Yur. (G) *ne-pin* "my older sister" (address). Possibly analyzable into *-pi-n*; for suffixed *-n* cf. W. -*r* n<sup>os</sup> 2,3,5,9,10) and Algonkin *-n-* (n<sup>os</sup> 1,2,11,12).

Cree *ni-mis* "my older sister," *o-miss-a* "his older sister;" Mont. *nə-məc*; Kick. *ne-miθ-āa*; Oj. *ni-miss-ē*; Del. *mis* (i.e. *miθ*) "elder sister," Del. (S) *ni-mi'θ* "my older sister;" Nat. *num-miss-is* "my sister;" Pen. *nə-məs-i's* "my older sister;" Abn. *nə-məs-i's*; Mal. *nə-məs-i's*; Mic. *nə-məs*; Ar. *nā-bi-e*; G.V. *ni-by-e*. Algonkin \*-*miss-* (\*-*mēss-*) is doubtless analyzable into \*-*mi-* and diminutive *-ss-*; non-diminutivized \*-*mi-* is probably only apparently preserved in Arapaho and Gros Ventre. Algonkin \*-*mi-* is related to Yurok *-pi-n* precisely as \*-*mēco-* "grandfather" (n<sup>o</sup> 9) is related to Yur. *-pits*, W. *-bitco-*.

16. W. *yi-bé, yi-bé-lia-r* "my first cousin, third cousin" (vocative); for non-vocative *yi-d-ili-bé* see n<sup>o</sup> 17. *-r* presumably as in n<sup>os</sup> 2,3,5,9,10. Besides *-bé* Gifford reports vocative *abé: abé cul* "cousin, let us go."

Yur. (Kr) *ne-pa'* "my brother, male cousin, or more distant male relative" (man speaking); Yur. (G) *ne-pa'* "my (man's) brother" (reference).

Nat. *nee-t-ompa-s* "my brother, sister," *wee-t-ompa-ssu* "his (her) friend, brother, sister" (Trumbull remarks that this term probably "expressed the relation... of brother or sister, used by either sex of either sex"); Abn. *ni-d-qb-so* "my brother" (woman speaking), "my sister" (man speaking).<sup>1</sup> Trumbull further quotes Rasles for Abn. *ni-d-qbe* "mon frère, seu un étranger que j'aime comme mon frère." Note further: Nat. *nē-t-*

1. Speck's etymology of this Abenaki term as "my man (reflexive)" can hardly be correct, as it applies to both sexes.



*omp* " my friend ; " Narragansett (quoted from Roger Williams) *né-t-op* ; Mohegan <sup>1</sup> *nī-d-amb* " my friend. " All these forms seem to have prefixed *wi-t* " together " with *nī-t* < \**ně-wi-t*, cf. n° 29. For -s of Nat. *-ompa-s* and for -su, -so cf. Pen. *nī-tse'ke-s'u*, Abn. *nī-tsaka-so* " my sister " (woman speaking). This suffix seems to be a reciprocal element. Natick-Abenaki *-ompa-* (doubtless only secondarily labialized from \**-ampa-*), \**-ampε-* are nasalized forms of Algonkin \**-apa-*, *-apε-*. For Algonkin \**-apε-* (\**-apa-*), Wiyot absolute *abé* : Yurok *-pa'*, Wiyot *-bé*, cf. n°s 5,8.

17. Yur. (Kr) *ne-lai* " my brother, male cousin, or more distant male <sup>2</sup> relative " (woman speaking) ; Kroeber quotes also Waterman's *let*, but without precisely defining it. Yur. (G) *ne-lai* " my (woman's) brother " (reference), *ne-let* " my (woman's) sister " (reference). Yur. *-lai* and *-let* are clearly related terms ; *-let* may be analyzed as *-le-t*, contracted perhaps from \**-lai-t*. With this Yurok *-t* (apparently feminine in connotation) may perhaps be compared Wiyot *-t* in *yi-d-oka-t* " mother-in-law " (cf. *yi-d-oka-s* " father-in-law ").

W. *yi-d-ili-bé* " my first, third cousin " (reference) ; corresponds to *yi-hé*, *abé* (address), see n° 16. Perhaps *-ili-bé* is compounded of two sibling stems, \**-ili-* (cf. Yur. *-lai*) and *-bé* (cf. Yur. *-pa'*). But W. *-ili-* may denote companionship (see *wili-*, n° 29), *-ili-bé* meaning " mutual cousin, " in which case it does not belong here.

Pen. *n-d-alnu-m* " my (woman's) brother, male cousin ; " Mal. *n-d-al-nu-m*. *-m* is possessive. It is quite likely that *-alnu-m* should be further analyzed into *-al-n-um*. with suffixed *-n-* (cf. n°s 1,2,11,12 in Algonkin) ; *-num* may be identical with Micmac *-nəm* of *n-tci'gə-nəm* (n° 12). Penobscot- Malecite *n-d-al-* is apparently identical in form with Wiyot *yi-d-ili-* (< \**ali-* ?), in meaning with Yurok *-lai*. Note that Algonkin \**-al-* corresponds to Yurok *-lai*, *-le-* precisely as does Algonkin \**-apa-*, \**-apε-*, Wiyot *abé* to Yurok *-pa'* (see n° 16). Two other Algonkian terms may belong here : Bl. *no-inn-ā* " my male cross-cousin " (woman speaking) <sup>3</sup>, in which *-inn-* may correspond to Penobscot *-al-* (Algonkian *l* generally appears as *n* in Blackfoot) or may be assimilated from *-al-n* <sup>4</sup> ; and Nat. *wee-t-ahtu-ob* " her brother, sister, " *ne-t-at* " my sister " (Nat. *nī-t-at* would correspond to Pen. *n-d-al-* with *l-t* interchange occurring frequently, but disturbingly, in Algonkin).

1. See Speck, *ibid.*

2. Kroeber writes " female, " but this is a slip of the pen.

3. From Spier, quoting Morgan.

4. Bl. *no-* : Pen. and Mal. *n-d-* is not promising. The proper Blackfoot correspondent is *nī-t*, *nī-ts-*.

18. Yur. (Kr) *ne-weyi-ts*, "my sister, female cousin, or more distant female relative" (male speaking); Yur. (G) *ne-weyi-ts* "my (man's) sister" (reference). *-ts* is diminutive.

Cree *n-t-awē-ma-w* "my sister" (male speaking), "my brother" (female speaking); Kick. *ne-t-awā-ma-w* "my brother" (female speaking); Oj. *ni-nd-awē-ma* "my sister" (male speaking), "my brother" (female speaking). These forms seem to be verbal in structure: \**nē-... -m-ā-wa* "I — him (her)" like Fox *ne-wāpa-m-āwa* "I see him (her)." It seems possible that transitive suffix *-m-* (with animate object) is ultimately identical with possessive *-m-* of nouns; this is indicated by such forms as Ojibwa *ni-nd-ōōssi-ma* "he is my father," properly "I have him as father." Algonkin \**nē-t-awē-m-ā-wa* properly, then, means "I (male) have her as sister, I (female) have him as brother," leaving \**-awē-* "sibling of opposite sex" as stem. \**-awē-* may be contracted from some such form as \**-awēyi-* (cf. Yur. *-weyi-*); for Algonkin \**-awē-*: Yurok *-weyi-* cf. nos 5, 8, 16, 17.

19. W. *yi-djo-k* "my mother's brother, mother's male cousin;" *yi-dju-l* "my mother's sister, mother's female cousin;" *yi-djuu-tck* "my nephew" (endearing). These three terms undoubtedly belong together; *-djo-*, *-dju(u)-is* "mother's sibling," reciprocally "nephew." *-k* of *-djo-k* occurs also in *yi-bau-k* "father's sister, father's female cousin" and *yi-d-erena-k* "child's parent-in-law" (n° 27); *-l* of *dju-l* I can find no parallels for in Wiyot, but it is suggestively similar to *-l* of Yurok *-tul* "aunt" (probable analysis *-tu-l*), see n° 20; *-tck* is diminutive. (For uncle-nephew reciprocity in Wiyot cf. also *yi-ga-tck* "my father's brother, father's male cousin": *yi-ga-u* "my nephew, cousin's son," also *yi-ga-s* "my daughter-in-law" (originally "niece"?).

Yur. (Kr) *ne-tsim-oc* "my uncle;" Yur. (G) *ne-tsim* "my uncle, step-father." Kroeber analyses as *ne-ts-im-oc* (cf., for *-ts-*, n° 3), but there seems no warrant for this, as *-tsim-* can hardly be disconnected from its reciprocal *ne-k-tsum* (G) "my nephew, step-son;" *ne-kep-tsum* (Kr) "my daughter-in-law." *-kep-tsum* is clearly compounded of *-kep-* and *-tsum* "nephew, niece"; cf. Yur. (Kr) *ne-k'ep-cu* "my grandchild," Yur. (G) *ne-kep* "my daughter-in-law." *-tsim* and (*-k*) *-tsum* are probably only secondarily palatalized and labialized from \**-tsam*: cf. *ne-me-tsame-yoL* "my dead uncle." There is nothing in Yurok, so far as I know, to show that *-m* of *-tsim*, *-tsum*, *-tsam* is suffixed, but comparison with Wiyot *-dju-* and Algonkin forms (see below) makes this at least possible. For Yurok *-tsiwin*, which may be related, see n° 22.



Cree *ni-si-ss* " my maternal uncle, " also " my father-in-law ; " Mont. *nə-cə-c* " my father-in-law ; " Fox *ne-ci-sä-<sup>a</sup>* " my maternal uncle ; " Kick. *ne-ci-θä-<sup>a</sup>*, vocative *ne-ci-θe* ; Oj. *ni-ji-shé* ; Del. *schiess* (i. e. *ci-θ*) " an uncle ; " Nat. *wu-ssi-ss-es* (i. e. *wx-si-ss-is*) " his uncle ; " Pen. *nə-ʒa-<sup>s</sup>i-<sup>s</sup>* " my maternal uncle ; " Abn. *n-ʒa-<sup>s</sup>i-<sup>s</sup>* ; Ar. *nä-ci* ; G. V. *ni-s'*. These forms point to Algonkin *\*-si-ss-* (*\*-ʒi-ss-*, *\*-ji-ss-*), possibly *\*-sa-ss-* (*\*-ʒa-ss-*) ; *-ss-* is diminutive ; double diminutives occur in Natick, Penobscot, and Abenaki. Algonkin *\*-si-* (*\*-ʒi-*, *\*-ji-*) seems to occur without diminutive suffix in Arapaho and Gros Ventre (this may be only apparent, however, diminutive *-bi*, *-i'* possibly contracting with *-ci-* to *-ci'*).

20. Yur. (Kr) *ne-tul-oc* " my aunt ; " Yur. (G) *ne-tul* " my aunt, step-mother. " There is nothing in Yurok, so far as I know, to suggest that *-tul* is analyzable into *-tu-l*, but comparison with Algonkin forms (see below) and with Wiyot *-dju-l* " mother's sister, " in which *-l* is clearly suffixed, makes this seem not unlikely. Cf. also *-n* of *-tsiwin* (n° 22) and *-tsnin* (n° 24).

Cree *n-to-s-is* " my maternal aunt ; " Mont. *n-tu-s* " my maternal aunt, maternal uncle ; " Oj. *ni-no-shé*, *ni-nwi-shé* " my maternal aunt, step-mother ; " Mic. *nə-lə-s* " my maternal aunt. " These terms point clearly to Algonkin *\*-lo-ss-* or *\*-lwə-ss-*, in which *-ss-* is diminutive. Eastern Algonkin *l* regularly appears as Ojibwa *n*, frequently as Cree-Montagnais *t*. For Algonkin *\*-lo-* " maternal aunt " : Yurok *-tu-l* " aunt " see my *Wiyot and Yurok, Algonkin Languages of California*, p. 642 (Micmac *-lə-s*, weakened from *-lu-s*, is related to Ojibwa *-no-sh-*, Cree *-to-s-*, Yurok *-tu-l*, precisely as original Algonkin *\*halwi* " arrow " is related to Ojibwa *anwi*, Cree *atu-s*, Yurok *horäu* — Yurok *r* is regularly developed from *t*, cf. n° 24). — Undoubtedly derived from Algonkin *\*nə-lo-ss-* " my maternal aunt " is its reciprocal *\*nə-lo-kwa-*, *\*nə-lə-kwa-* " my nephew (niece) " : Cree *n-tikwa-t-im* " my (male's) sister's son, my (female's) brother's son, " vocative *n-tikwa* ; Kick. *ne-negwä-<sup>a</sup>* " my sister's son, " vocative *ne-negwa* ; Oj. *ni-ningwa-n-iss* " my (male's) sister's son, my (female's) brother's son ; " Del. *lunk*, *lunku-s* " nephew, " *longa-chsiss* (i. e. *lorga-xθ-iθ*) " nephew ; " Mal. *nə-lok-n-i-<sup>s</sup>* " my sister's son " (male or female speaking), " my (female's) sister's daughter, my (male's) brother's daughter ; " Mic. *nə-luk-s* " my nephew " (son of brother or sister, used by either sex) ; Ar. *nä-θääθä* (read *-θä'ä-θä*) " my (male's) sister's son, my (female's) brother's son, " G. V. *nə-t'ê-t* (Ar.-G. V. forms  $\langle *nä-tä'a-tä \langle *nə-təkwa-tě$  ; cf. Cree *-tikwa-t-im* and, for  $\langle kw$ , n° 6). It is far from accidental that Cree *t*, Ojibwa *n*, and

Micmac *l* of these forms for "nephew (niece)" are identical with corresponding consonants in forms for "maternal aunt." *u*, *o* of Del. *lunku-*, *longa-*, Mal. *-lok-*, and Mic. *-luk-* probably does not directly represent Proto-Algonkin *\*-lo-*, but is secondarily labialized from weakened *\*-lĕkwa-* as indicated by Cree, Kickapoo, Ojibwa, and Arapaho-Gros Ventre reflexes. "Nephew" further develops to "son-in-law" in closely related forms: Cree *n-tikwa-t-im*; Kick. *ne-nengwa-n-a*; Oj. *ni-ningwa-n-*; Ar. *nä-ḡäox* (read *-ḡä'o-x*); G. V. *na-taos* (Ar.-G.V. forms  $\langle *n\bar{a}-t\bar{a}'o-s \langle *n\bar{e}-t\bar{e}kwa-s \rangle$ ). For *-n-* in above forms for "nephew" and "son-in-law" see nos 1, 2, 11, 12, 17; whether Cree and Arapaho-Gros Ventre *-t-* is related (assimilated to preceding *t*, or from older *l* assimilated to preceding *l*) is not clear. Cree *-im* is possessive; diminutive suffixes will be easily recognized. — Related to Algonkin *\*-lo-ss-* "maternal aunt" and *\*-lĕ-kwa-* "nephew" may, less probably, be another set of forms for "son-in-law" which point to Algonkin *\*nĕ-t-alo-sw-*: Pen. *n-d-alo-s-u-k<sup>w</sup>* "my son-in-law"; Mal. *n-d-lo-s-u-k<sup>w</sup>*; Mic. *n-d-lo-ḡu-k*, feminine derivative *n-t-lu-sw-ask<sup>w</sup>* "my son-in-law-woman, my daughter-in-law." Possibly Ar. *nä-ḡäo-x* and G. V. *na-tao-s* given above really belong here: *\*nĕ-t-alo-sw- > \*nĕ-t-ato-sw-* dissimilated to *\*nĕ-t-a'o-sw-*.

21. Yur. (Kr) *ner-rame-ts* "my niece"; Yur. (G) *ne-rame-ts* "my niece, step-daughter." *-ts* is diminutive. Yurok *r* regularly goes back to *t*; hence *-rame-* represents older *\*-tame-*.

Cree *ni-stim* "my (male's) sister's daughter, my (female's) brother's daughter; my daughter-in-law"; Fox *ne-cemi-s-a* "my niece"; Kick. *ne-cemī-a* "my sister's daughter," vocative *ne-cemi*; Oj. *ni-shimi-ss* "my (male's) sister's daughter, my (female's) brother's daughter," *ni-ssim* "my daughter-in-law"; Del. *chumm* (i. e. *xum*) "my daughter-in-law"; Nat. *ku-shim* "thy daughter-in-law"; Pen. *n-səm* "my daughter-in-law"; Abn. *n-səm*; Mal. *nə-ḡəm*; Mic. *n-səm* "my niece"; Ar. *nää-säbi-e* "my (male's) sister's daughter, my (female's) brother's daughter; my daughter-in-law"; G. V. *nää-ḡib-y<sup>i</sup>* "dit." Neglecting Cree, these forms readily reconstruct to Algonkin *\*-ssĕmi-* "niece; daughter-in-law"; whether Cree *-stim* is developed from this *\*-ssĕmi-* or represents an older Algonkin *\*-stĕmi-*, simplified to *\*-ssĕmi-* in other dialects, is unclear. It would be easier to reconcile *\*-stĕmi-* with Yurok *-rame-*, *\*-tame-*. (There are other cases of Cree-Montagnais *st* corresponding to *ss* of other dialects, e. g. Cree *ni-ste-s* "my older brother"; Mont. *nə-stə-c*; Fox *ne-se-sä-a*; Kick. *ne-ḡe-ḡä-a*; Oj. *ni-ssaie*; Del. (S) *n-xa-n't*ḡ; Pen. *n-ḡə-ḡ-i-s*; Mal. *nə-be-ḡ-i-s*; Mic. *n-si'-s*; Bl.



*ni-'s(a)* " my (male's) older brother ; " Ar. *nää-sä-bää* " my older brother ; " G. V. *nää-ṭä-bää*. — It is remarkable that in both these groups of words Arapaho and Gros Ventre have *nää-*, not *nä-*, as pronominal prefix. If this is interpreted, as seems almost unavoidable, as *nä'ä-*, we may reconstruct as Algonkin prototype for Cree *st* : Oj *ss* not *st* nor *ss*, but *'ss* : \**'ssēmi-* " niece, " \**'ssa-* " older brother. " This is perhaps confirmed by Blackfoot *'s* in *ni-'s(a)* " my (male's) older brother. " There is another very interesting phonological problem that follows. May not Algonkin *'ss* represent an older *kss* < *kts* or *ks*, \**'ssēmi-* " niece " not directly corresponding to Yur. \**-tame-* but rather to *-ktsūm* " nephew, " labialized from \**-ktsēm* ; see n° 19 ? If this holds, Yurok *-tsim* " uncle, " *-ktsūm* " nephew, " and *-rame-ts* " niece, " also *-tsum* of *-keḗ-tsum* " daughter-in-law, " may all prove to be radically connected. Algonkin *'ss* : Yurok *k* + sibilant is apparently confirmed by the Algonkin forms for " three, " which also contain this problematic *'ss* (Cree *nistw-* ; Fox *nesw-* ; Oj. *nissw-* ; Del. *nax-* ; Nat. *nishw-* ; Abn. *nas-* ; Ar. *nās-* ; G. V. *nāḥ-*) — Algonkin \**nē'ssw-* : Yurok *naxkc-*, Wiyot *rikw-* < *nikw-*, proto-Algonkin \**naksw-* or \**nēksw-*.)

22. Yur. (Kr) *ne-tsiwin* " my mother-in-law ; " Yur. (G) *ne-tsewin* " my mother-in-law. " Kroeber analyzes this term into *-ts-iwin*, but it is not easy to see on what ground. Much more plausible seems its analysis into *-tsiwi-n* < \**-tsimi-n* (*m* and *w* frequently interchange in Yurok), *-tsiwi-* (*-tsewi-*), \**-tsimi-* (\**-tsemi-*) being identical with *-tsim*, *-tsame-* " uncle " (see n° 19). *-n* would then remain as feminine-forming element analogous to *-l* of Yurok *-tul* and Wiyot *-dju-l* (see nos 20 and 19) ; cf. *-n* of *-tsni-n* (n° 24). Indeed *-n* may be identical with *-l*, being perhaps nasally assimilated to \**-tsimi-*. An original Yurok \**-tsami-n* or \**-tsami-l* would be related to *-tsame-* " uncle " very much as is Wiyot *-dju-l* " mother's sister " to *-djo-k* " mother's brother. " (If Wiyot *-dju-* is contracted from \**-djau-*, \**-djawe-*, Yurok *-tsiwi-n* may actually be identical with Wiyot *-dju-l*). Its original meaning would then have been " aunt, " more probably " paternal aunt, " *-tul* being originally confined to " maternal aunt ; " cf. its Algonkin cognates, n° 20), secondarily, as in Algonkin (see below), " mother-in-law. "

Cree *ni-siku-s* " my paternal aunt, mother-in-law ; " Mont. *ni-coḡu-s* " my mother-in-law ; " Kick. *ne-ḥegw-iḥ-a* " my paternal aunt ; " Oj. *nin-sigo-ss* " my paternal aunt, " double diminutive *nin-sigo-s-iss* " my mother-in-law " ; Pen. *n-zəgw-us* " my mother-in-law ; " Abn. *n-zəgw-us*, *n-dzaku-s* " my mother-in-law " ; Mal. *n-zəgw-us* " my mother-in-law ; " Mic. *n-sugw-os* " my paternal aunt, " *n-tsoḡw-i'i-dj-i'tc* " my mother-in-

law." These forms point to Algonkin *\*-sēkw-ēs-* (*\*-zēkw-ēs-*) "paternal aunt;" *-ēs-* is diminutive. "Mother-in-law" is clearly the secondary meaning, as shown by the striking fact that in both Ojibwa and Micmac it is the simple diminutive that means "paternal aunt," while the double (derived) diminutive means "mother-in-law." (Cf. also Ar. *nā-bei*, G. V. *nā-bei* "my paternal aunt," diminutive Ar. *na-bei-bā*, G. V. *nā-bei-bā* "my mother-in-law." Ar.-G. V. *-bei-* is probably derived from Algonkin *\*-sēkwē-* through *\*-hā-ā-*, *\*-hā-*; for Algonkin *s* > Ar.-G. V. *b* before *ē*, cf. diminutive *-hā-* < *\*-ssē-* and *-hā-bā-* "younger sibling" < *\*-sē-mē-*, n° 13.) Algonkin *\*-sēkw-(ēs-)* is to be analyzed into *\*-sē-kw-* (or *\*-sa-kw-*) and is almost certainly based on Algonkin *\*-si-* (or *\*-sa-*) "maternal uncle" (n° 19); formally speaking, *\*-sē-kw-* "paternal aunt" seems to be related to *\*-si-ss-* "maternal uncle" as is *\*-lē-kw-* "nephew" to *\*-lo-ss-* "maternal aunt" (n° 20). The different dialectic sibilant reflexes in *\*-si-* and *\*-sē-kw-* (Kick. *c* : *θ*; Oj. *j* : (*n*)*s*; Ar.-G.V. *c*, *s* : *b*) are probably conditioned by the vocalic difference between *i* and its weakened form *ē* (the history and influence of the Algonkin "pepet" vowel, *ē*, is complex and crucial to an understanding of Algonkin phonology); cf. Fox animate *-cin-* : inanimate *-sen-* (e. g. *pagi-cin-w<sup>a</sup>* "bird lights," *pagi-sen-w<sup>i</sup>* "it fell"), Oj. *-shin* : *-ssin* (e. g. *nin pangi-shin* "I fall," *pangi-ssin* "it falls"), in Algonkin terms *\*-s'in-* (*\*-c'in-*) : *\*-s'ēn-*. — According to our analysis, Algonkin *\*-sē-kw-(ēs-)* "paternal aunt, mother-in-law" is related to Yurok *-tsiwi-n* "mother-in-law" not directly but only insofar as both, originally signifying "paternal aunt," are derivatives of cognate terms for "(maternal) uncle." As hypothetically in Yurok, so demonstrably in several Algonkin dialects, "paternal aunt" has entirely given way to "mother-in-law" (Montagnais; Penobscot, Abenaki, Malecite).

23. W. *yi-d-atserap* "my daughter's husband, child's spouse's brother, sibling's daughter's husband." Kroeber gives *wetserakw* "son-in-law," perhaps to be understood as *w-etserakw* "his son-in-law." Gifford's *-p* is probably misheard for *-kw*; *-kw*, as is clear from comparison with Yurok, is suffixed, leaving as stem : *-etsera-*, *-atsera-* < *-etsena-*, *-atsena-* (Wiyot *-r-* < *-n-*, as usual). Probably related to *yi-d-ats* (see n° 24).

Yur. (Kr). *ne-tsnē'uk-oc* "my son-in-law;" Yur. (G) *ne-tsnēu* "my son-in-law." Gifford's *-tsnēu* is probably misheard for *-tsnē'uk*, which must be analyzed as *-tsnē'u-k*, probably labialized from *-tsnē'e-kw* (cf. Wiyot *w-etsera-kw*). *-tsnē'u-k* is clearly related to *-tsno'o* (*-tsna*) and *-tsni-n*, see n° 24. There seems to be no warrant for Kroeber's analysis into *-ts-ne'uk-*, *-ts-no'o*, *-ts-nin*. Wiyot *w-etsera-kw* and Algonkin forms (see

below) suggest strongly that Yurok *-tsne'u-k*, *-tsno'o* (*-tsna*), and *-tsni-n* are secondary developments of a primary *\*-tsine-*, *\*-tsina-*, that refers somewhat inclusively to kinship by marriage.

Oj. *ni(n)-sin-iss* "my father-in-law," *nind o-jini-ndam* "I am son-in-law in a family;" Nat. *wu-ssén-um* "he is the son-in-law of," *pish ken wa-seen-um-ukqueh* "thou shalt be my son-in-law," *wa-sén-um-ukqu-tche* (participle) "a son-in-law;" Narragansett<sup>1</sup> *n-o-sén-em-uck* "he is my son-in-law;" Pen. *n-zi'l'-ho-s* "my father-in-law;" Abn. *n-dji't-os(-t-<-l-b-)* "my father-in-law," *wa-zi'l-mi-'t* "son-in-law;" Mal. *n-zi'l'-ho-s* "my father-in-law;" Mic. *n-tcil-tc* "my father-in-law;" Ar. *nä-ciθ-ā* "my father-in-law;" G. V. *né-sit* "my father-in-law." These forms point to Algonkin *\*-sil-*, *\*-si'l-* (*\*-zil-*, *\*-zi'l-*) "father-in-law," regularly with diminutive suffix *-ëss-* (Algonkin *l* has become Ar.-G. V. *t*, *θ*, as usual); and derivative *\*o-si'l-ëm-* "to be a son-in-law" (properly "to have a father-in-law"). Abenaki *wa-zi'l-mi-'t* and Natick *wa-sén-um-ukqu-tche* seem to be participles from possessive *o...-m-* verbs; cf. such Cree forms as *we-kosis-im-it* "the son, being the son," intransitive participle based on *o-kosis-a* "his son." Penobscot, Abenaki, and Malecite *-ho-s* is explained by Speck as denoting "a mild degree of scorn." It is quite likely that Algonkin *\*-sil-* is primarily not so much a noun stem denoting "father-in-law" as an old verb stem indicating the reciprocal relation of father-in-law to son-in-law (cf. Oj. *o-jini-* above) or even the more general notion of kinship by affinity or marriage into another family; see note following n° 24.

24. W. *yi-d-ats* "woman's brother-in-law, sister-in-law; wife's female cousin, woman's female cousin's husband, husband's cousin, male cousin's wife." It seems difficult to disconnect this term from W. *yī-d-atsera-kw* "son-in-law," particularly in view of Yurok *-tsna* and *-tsni-n* below. Gifford writes that in his notes he has *yidats* "spouse's sister, woman's brother's wife" but *yidats's* "man's brother's wife, woman's sister's husband," and seems unable to decide whether this difference is real or due to misunderstanding. Perhaps we are to understand *yi-d-ats*, with long *s* due to assimilation from *\*-atsn*, *\*-atsr* (cf. Yurok forms below).

Yur. (Kr) *ni-tsnin* "my sister-in-law," *ni-tso'o* "my (woman's) brother-in-law;" Yur. (G) *ne-tsnin* "my sister-in-law, husband's brother's wife," *ne-tsna* "my (woman's) brother-in-law." Kroeber's

1. Quoted by Trumbull from Roger Williams.



-*tsno'o* and Gifford's *-tsna* may possibly be reconciled as *-tsna'*<sup>a</sup>. There is no doubt that Yurok *-tsna'* and *-tsnin* are closely related terms. Presumably *-tsnin* is to be analyzed as *-tsni-n*, with feminine *-n* suffix as in *-tsiwi-n* (see n° 22); this *-n* may be assimilated, because of preceding *n*, from *-l* (cf. Yur. *-tu-l*, n° 20; W. *-dju-l*, n° 19).

NOTE TO N°S. 23 AND 24. There is little doubt that the forms listed in n°s 23 and 24 point to a single stem (Wiyot-Yurok *\*-tsen-*, Algonkin *\*-sil-*) that refers to kinship by marriage or to marriage into an alien family. This seems to be corroborated by certain Algonkin verb forms: Nat. *nōo-seen-tam* "I marry," *wu-ssen-tamwāen* "bridegroom, one who marries;" Narragansett<sup>1</sup> *wu-ssén-tan* "he goes a-wooing," *wu-ssen-etā-ock* "they make a match;" Pen. *n-dal-zi'l-dam-ən* "I marry into such and such a family." These forms in *-tam-*, *-dam-* are probably related to Oj. *o-jini-dam* "to be son-in-law in a family" (see n° 23).

25. W. *yi-dak'i-r* "my (man's) brother-in-law, wife's male cousin, my (man's) female cousin's husband." For suffixed *-r*, cf. n°s 2, 3, 5.

Cree *n-tákku-s* "my (woman's) sister-in-law;" Oj. *nin-dāngw-e* "my (woman's) sister-in-law;" Del. *wachtanquall* "his brother-in-law," i. e. *w-axtarḱw-al*; Nat. *k-adtonq-s* "thy cousin;" Pen. *n-adaḱk'<sup>w</sup>* "my (man's) brother-in-law, my (woman's) sister-in-law;" Abn. *nadog<sup>w</sup>* "dit.;" Mal. *nə-dak'<sup>w</sup>* "my wife's brother, my (man's) brother's wife;" Mic. *ni-dak'<sup>w</sup>* "my (man's) brother-in-law, my (man's) brother's wife." These forms point to Algonkin *\*-ta'kkw-* or *\*-tārḱw-*, probably meaning primarily "sibling-in-law of same sex as speaker." (Connected with these forms is perhaps also Ar. *nā-ya*, G. V. *nā-yaq* "my (man's) brother -in -law," which, if read *-ya'*, would reconstruct to *\*-ya'kw-*, perhaps *\*-ta'kw-*.) On Oj. *-dāngw-* is based also Oj. *nin-dāngo-she* "my (woman's) maternal uncle's daughter, paternal aunt's daughter;" *-she*, like *-s* of Cree *n-tákku-s* above, is diminutive.

26. Yur. (Kr) *ne-tei* "my (man's) brother-in-law;" Yur. (G) *ne-tei* "my (man's) brother-in-law, wife's sister's husband."

Cree *n-ista-w* "my (man's) brother-in-law," *w-istá-w-a* "his brother-in-law;" Oj. *n-ita* "my (man's) brother-in-law," *w-ita-n* "his brother-in-law," *n-ita-g* "my (man's) brothers-in-law;" Del. *n-ita-u-s* "my sister-in-law, brother's wife;" Bl. (Wissler) *n-ěstō-mmo-w-ak* "husbands of father's and mother's sisters; my (man's) sister's husband;" Ar.

1. Quoted by Trumbull from Roger Williams.

*n-atou* " my (woman's) sister-in-law ; " G. V. *n-atou*. Here probably belong also Pen. *n-i'tcu-s* " my wife's sister's husband ; " Mal. *n-i'tcu-s* " my wife's sister's husband ; " Mic. *n-i'tcu-s* " my husband's brother's wife. " In these forms ' *t* is assimilated after *i* from ' *t* < *st* ; *u* is contracted from *au* (cf. Delaware and Arapaho-Gros Ventre cognates) ; -*s*, as in Delaware *n-ita-u-s*, is diminutive. Algonkin \**-istaw-* is probably analyzable into \**-ista-w-* (cf. Cree *n-itim-w-* " sibling in-law of opposite sex "), as indicated by Blackfoot and certain Ojibwa forms (Oj. obviative *-ita-n* and plural *-ita-g*, however, may be merely analogically remodeled after *n-ita*, which may be regularly derived from \**n-istaw* ; this explanation is supported by diminutive *-itâw-iss*, see below). Algonkin \**-ista-(w-)* seems to have meant primarily " man's brother-in-law ; wife's sister's husband, " precisely like Yurok *-tei*. This is indicated by Cree, Ojibwa, Blackfoot, and Penobscot-Malecite. In Delaware, Arapaho-Gros Ventre, and Micmac, however, it seems to have taken on correlative feminine significance : " woman's sister-in-law ; husband's brother's wife. " Based on \**-istaw-* is also Oj. *n-itâ-w-iss* " my (man's) maternal uncle's son, paternal aunt's son. " — For Algonkin *st* ; Wiyot-Yurok *t*, see Sapir, *op. cit.*, pp. 645, 646.

27. W. *yi-derenak* " my child's spouse's parent. " *-dere-* is regularly developed from *-dene-*.

Cree *n-tittâwa* " my child's spouse's parent, " plur. *n-tittâw-ok* ; Oj. *nin-dindâwa* " my child's spouse's parent, " plur. *nin-dindâw-ag*. *-wa*, *-w-* is doubtless suffixed, as in *-istaw-* (see n° 26), leaving as Algonkin stem \**-tëtta-* or, nasalized, \**-tënta-*.

28. W. *hakwi* " spouse " (endearing). If this term be presumed to have originally meant only " wife, " it may be equated with

Algonkin \**hiskwε-w-*, \**hëskwε-w-*, \**-ëskwε-*, \**-ëskwa* " woman " : Cree *iskwe-w* ; Mont. (Sapir) *ickwε-u* ; Fox *i'kwä-w<sup>a</sup>* ; Oj. *ikwé* ; Ottawa <sup>1</sup> *akwé* ; Del. *ochqueu* (i. e. *oxkwε-u*), Del. (S). *uxkwä-u* ; Nat. *squâ-s*, *eshqua* ; Pen. *-iskwe*, *-askwe* (in compounds) ; Abn. *-eskwa* (in compounds) ; Mal. *-isk<sup>w</sup>* (in compounds) ; Mic. *-ask<sup>w</sup>* (in compounds) ; Ar. *hisei*, in compounds *-äsei* (e. g. *häthab-äsei* " chief woman ") ; G. V. *hihā* ; Cheyenne <sup>2</sup> *hee* (dissimilated from \**hebe* < \**hese* < \**hiskwε-*). Without *w-* suffix, Algonkin \**ëskwε-* is in some dialects used for " wife " : Mont. *n-t-äcque-m* " my wife " (*-m* is possessive) ; Ar. *nä-t-äcë* " my wife ; " G. V. *nä-t-ihā* ; in

1. Quoted by Baraga.

2. Quoted from R. Petter, *Sketch of the Cheyenne Grammar*, Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, vol. I, pp. 443-478.

others for "man's sister": Kick. *ne-t-<sup>e</sup>kwā-m-<sup>a</sup>* "my (man's) sister"; probably also Mic. *n-kwe-dji'te* "my (man's) sister" (*-dji'te* is double diminutive; absolute *-kwe-*; suffixed *-askw* is puzzling); Ar. *nā-t-āse* "my sister." Probably related is *\*-iskwa*, *\*-iskwε*: "co-wife": Cree *w-iskwa* "her co-wife"; Kick. *iskwā-<sup>e</sup>* "intimate term of address between women" (Kick. *iskwā-*: *-<sup>e</sup>kwā-* "man's sister," Fox *i<sup>e</sup>kwā-w-* "woman" is again puzzling). — It is not likely that a of Ottawa *akwē*, Mic. *-ask<sup>w</sup>* directly corresponds to Wiyot *a* of *kakwi*. Wiyot *bakwi* is perhaps developed from *\*hēskwi*, analogously to Wiyot *mati* "wood" from *\*mēsti* (see Sapir, *op. cit.*, pp. 645, 646).

29. W. *yi-wiwa-t* "my wife"; probably also compounded in *wili-wita* "co-wife." (I assume that *wili-* denotes "with, together." This is borne out by comparison with Algonkin *\*wit(i)-* "in company with," dialectically assibilated, before *i* and *ε*, to *wit(i)-*: Cree *wit-*, *witchi-* "accompaniment, to do something together with"; Oj. *wid-*, *widj-*, *widji-* "with"; Del. *wit-*, *witsch-* "with," *witschi* "with, at the same time"; Nat. *wε(e,t-*, *weech-* "with," *weeche* "with, in company with." For Wiyot *l*: Algonkin *t*, see Sapir, *op. cit.*, pp. 641, 642.) Kroeber records *wiwa-l* "his wife," perhaps contracted from *\*u-wiwa-l* (cf. analogous Algonkin forms below). As Wiyot stem for "wife" may be posited *-wiwa-*.

Algonkin *\*-wi-w(a)-* "wife": Cree *n-iwa* "my wife," *wiwa* "his wife"; Fox *n-iwa* "my wife," *u-wiw-Ani* "his wife"; Kick. *n-iwa* "my wife"; Oj. *wiw-an* "his wife"; Narragansett<sup>1</sup> *no-weéwo* "my wife," *wéwo* "a wife"; Del. (Zeisberger) *wiw-all* "his wife." According to Michelson<sup>2</sup> Fox *n-iwa* and analogous forms are contracted from *\*nē-wiwa* (cf. Narragansett *no-weéwo*). This seems to be corroborated by Algonkin verbal derivatives from *wi-w*, e. g.: Cree *wiw-i-w* "he has a wife"; Fox *uwiw-i-* "to marry" (on analysis see Michelson, *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences*, vol. IV, 1914, p. 404); Oj. *nin wiw-i-kawa* "I give him a wife," *nin wiw-i-ma* "I take her to wife"; Del. (Zeisberger) *wiwu* "he is married." — Algonkin *\*wi-w(a)-* "wife" is clearly based on *\*-wi-*, which, as noun stem, occurs, with diminutive suffix, in Oj. *ni-wi-sh* "my wife," *wi-wi-sh-an* "his wife." Algonkin *\*wi-* occurs also as verb stem in reference to marriage, e. g. Ar. *ni-b-* "to marry" < Algonkin *\*wi-m-*. Here undoubtedly belongs also Kroeber's Wiyot *wisi-L*, i. e., "married woman," *wise-pelei* "married man."

1. Quoted by Trumbull from Roger Williams.

2. *American Anthropologist*, N. S., vol. XIII, pp. 171, 172.



30. Yur. (G) *ne-peu* "my wife" (reference); perhaps analyzable as *n-ep-e-u*, with *-u-* suffix (cf. *ne-eihke-u*, n° 12; *ne-par-eu* "my father-in-law"; *ne-k'ep-eu* "my grandchild"; *ne-me-pets-eu* "my dead grandfather"; *ne-me-ke-kts-eu* "my dead grandmother").

Mal. (S)  $\varepsilon$ ·*pit* "woman," plural  $\varepsilon$ ·*pi'dj-ik*'; Mic. (S)  $\varepsilon$ ·*bit* "woman," plural  $\varepsilon$ ·*bidj-ik*'. Speck gives also Mic. *n-t-ebi-d-em* "my wife" (*-em* is possessive).

These thirty-one comparative entries of kinship terms undoubtedly contain more than one error, more than one misunderstanding, but it is obvious that if half of them eventually prove valid, we shall still have to recognize a most surprising degree of linguistic concordance between the kinship systems of the Algonkin-speaking tribes east of the Rockies and those of their remote congeners in northwestern California. From a purely linguistic standpoint, then, our investigation has proved most encouraging. It remains to be seen how the kinship systems of the two separated areas compare as such, that is, in their conceptual outlines. Two kinship terms may be identical or obviously but variants of a single prototype and connote, for all that, very different relational concepts. Again, two kinship systems may be conceptually parallel but unrelated in their actual terminologies.

## II. COMPARISON BETWEEN YUROK, WIYOT, AND ALGONKIN KINSHIP SYSTEMS

Radically as the Yurok and Wiyot kinship systems differ from the generality of Californian systems, it is clear at the outset that they offer no inconsiderable divergences among themselves. The difficulty of arriving at a reconstructed, historically inferred, system for the proto-Algonkin period is greatly increased by the fact that on a number of points the Algonkin dialects also differ widely among themselves, so that it is not always possible to speak confidently of the properly Algonkin features. No doubt the various Algonkin tribes modified their inherited kinship system, now under the stress of internal causes, sociological or psychological, now as influenced by contact with the kinship systems or associated social features of alien tribes. Such dialectic developments must also have taken place at the remoter period of differentiation of proto-Algonkin into Yurok, Wiyot, and Algonkin proper. In spite of the inherent difficulties of the task, it may eventually be possible to work out some of the primary kinship features of the whole group, to dispose of others as secondary developments. A refined and detailed study of the whole course of change, from the oldest and most

fundamental features down to the most recent dialectic or regional ramifications, is a task for an Algonkin specialist. I shall not attempt it, the more so as it inevitably leads to a far-reaching distributional study, such as lies beyond the scope of this paper,

The linguistic entries of the first part of our study do not suffice for a comparative survey of kinship systems within the enlarged Algonkin group. This is due to the fact that not all terms have ascertainable cognates. It will therefore be necessary to rearrange and add to the Wiyot, Yurok, and Algonkin terms already given, so that the relations between the kinship systems as such may be apprehended more readily. In the following table linguistic relationship is not considered; the entries are made solely with a view to their conceptual equivalence. As representatives of Algonkin proper I have chosen Cree (Montagnais), Ojibwa, Penobscot (Abenaki), and Arapaho. The Wiyot and Yurok forms are Gifford's, unless they are otherwise credited. A row of dots indicates that an equivalent for the term is definitely known to be wanting. The lack of an entry merely indicates that data are wanting.

	WİYOT	YUROK	CRÉE	OJIBWA	PENOBSCOT	ARAPAHO
1. father	yi-dac	ne-pcels; tot (voc.)	n-ottāwiy	n-oss	n-dadan ( <i>Abn.</i> ) <sup>1</sup>	n-eisana
2. mother	yi-d-okar	ne-ts-eko; kok (voc.)	ni-kāwiy	nin-gā	ni'-ga-wəs	n-einā
3. child	yi-d-utcik	ne-tac; n-ooksa	n-t-awāssimis	ni-nidjānis	n-d-awāsi's	n-eih'ā
4. son	yi-d-ar	ne-gnemem	ni-kosis	nin-gwiss	n-(n)emon	n-tane
5. daughter	== n° 2	ne-mehi	n-tānis	nin-dānis	n-d-u's	nā-bācibā
6. grandfather	yi-bitcote	ne-pits	ni-musum	ni-mishōmiss	nə-mo'suməs	n-eibāhā
7. grandmother	yi-d-okotek	ne-kuts	n-oktum	n-okōmiss	n-o'kəməs	
8. grandparent's brother	yi-bitcox	== n° 6	== n° 6 ( <i>Mont.</i> )		kctei-nə-mo'suməs <sup>2</sup>	
9. grandparent's sister	yi-d-okox	== n° 7	== n° 7 ( <i>Mont.</i> )		kctei-n-o'kəməs <sup>2</sup>	
10. great-grandfather the	== n° 8	== n° 6	3	nind-anike	== n° 8	
11. great-grand- mother	== n° 9	== n° 7	3	mishōmiss <sup>4</sup>	== n° 9	
12. grandchild	yi-d-okgas	ne-kepeu	n-osissim	nind-anike	n-kwenas	n-eicl
13. sibling's grand- child	yi-gulkLax	== n° 12		okomiss <sup>4</sup>		
14. great-grand- child	== n° 13	== n° 12		n-ojishē		
15. father's brother	yi-gatek			anikōbidjigan <sup>5</sup>	kctei-n-usas ( <i>Abn.</i> ) <sup>6</sup>	
16. mother's bro- ther	ne-tsim		(n-okkumis ni-sis)	ni-mishōme	n-i-djāluk	== n° 1 ( <i>G.V.</i> )
17. mother's sister	yi-djul		(n-losis)	ni-jishe	nə-za'si's	nā-ci
18. father's sister	yi-bauk	ne-tul	(ni-sikus)	ni-noshē	n-gi-zi's	== n° 2 ( <i>G.V.</i> )
				nin-sigoss	n-o'kəmə	nā-hei



	WIYOT	YUROK	GREEK	OJIBWA	PENOBSCOT	ARAPAHO
19. man's brother's son	—	—	—	—	—	—
20. woman's sister's son	yi-gau ; yi-djuutck <sup>8</sup>	ue-ktsum	n-t-øjim	nin-d-øjim	n-(n)emani'mi's	= n° 4 (G.V.)
21. cross nephew			ni-kosim	nin-d-øjimiss	n-d-awazəm	nä-ŋääöä
22. man's brother's daughter			n-tikwatim	ni-ningwaniss nin-d-øjimiskwem		= n° 5 (G.V.)
23. woman's sister's daughter	yi-salibas ; yi-d-ukulk <sup>8</sup>	ne-ramets	n-t-øjimiskwem	= n° 20	n-d-ozimi's	
24. cross niece <sup>9</sup>			ni-stim	ni-shimiss	səməs	nää-säbit <sup>e</sup>
25. step-father	..... <sup>10</sup>	= n° 15 (16)	= N° 15	= n° 15	= n° 6	
26. step-mother	..... <sup>10</sup>	= n° 17 (18)	= n° 17	= n° 17	= n° 7	
27. step-son	..... <sup>10</sup>	= n° 19 (-21)	= n° 19 (20) 41	= n° 19 (20)	n-dapak'wini'gan <sup>42</sup>	
28. step-daughter	..... <sup>10</sup>	= n° 22 (-24)	= n° 22 (23)	= n° 22 (23)	n-zazi's	nää-säbiät
29. older brother	yi-dux <sup>43</sup>	ne-mit (voc.)	ni-stés	ni-ssaité	nə-məsi's	nä-bi <sup>e</sup>
30. older sister		ne-pin (voc.)	ni-mis	ni-shime	n-dokani'mi's	nä-häbähää
31. younger sibling		n-ekku ; tcitc (voc.)	ni-sim	n-tidji ; n-idjikiwé ; n-ikäniss <sup>44</sup>	n-i-dji-et <sup>45</sup>	
32. man's brother		ne-pa'	ni-tchawäm ; ni-ti- sän <sup>44</sup>	n-i-tse'kes'u		
33. woman's sister		ne-lel	ni-tchiwämiskew ; ni-tisäniskwew <sup>44</sup>	(niindangwe) <sup>45</sup>	n-d-alm	
34. woman's brother		ne-lai	n-t-awemav	nin-d-awéma		
35. man's sister	.....	ne-weyits				
36. cousin <sup>17</sup>	yi-bé ; yi-d-ilibé	= n°s 29-31				nä-t-äse <sup>16</sup>

	WIVOT	YUROK	CREE	OJIBWA	PENOBSCOT	ARAPAHO
37. man's male parallel cousin <sup>49</sup>						
38. man's male cross cousin <sup>49</sup>		= n° 32	= n°s 29, 31 ni-(s)tchâs <sup>20</sup>	= n°s 29, 31 ni-tâwîss <sup>20</sup>	= n° 32; nadzng-wus	
39. man's female parallel cousin			= n°s 30, 31	= n°s 30, 31		
40. man's female cross cousin		= n° 35	n-îîîmus <sup>20</sup>	ni-nimoshe <sup>20</sup>	na-dzng'w'sôs'kwezi	
41. female's male parallel cousin			= n°s 29, 31	= n°s 29, 31		
42. female's male cross cousin		= n° 34	= n° 40	= n° 40	= n° 34	
43. female's female parallel cousin			= n°s 30, 31	= n°s 30, 31		
44. female's female cross cousin		= n° 33	n-tchâkus <sup>20</sup> ni-wikimâgan <sup>23</sup>	nin-dângoshe <sup>20</sup> ni-wigimâgan; ni-widigômâgan; ni-widjîwâgan <sup>23</sup>	= n° 33; nadzng-w-si's <sup>21</sup> ni-n-i'zwi'ek <sup>24</sup>	
45. spouse	hakwi <sup>22</sup>	ne-yis (voc.)				
46. husband	yi-d-ukwi <sup>25</sup>	ne-nos	ni-nâbem <sup>26</sup>	ni-nâbem <sup>26</sup>	n-sanxmban(Abn.) <sup>26</sup>	nâ-âc
47. wife	yi-d-utakabuc <sup>27</sup> ; yi-wewat	ne-peu	n-iwa	ni-wish	no-baenemum (Abn.) <sup>28</sup>	nâ-t-âcçç <sup>28</sup>
48. co-wife	wîlî-wîta		n-iskwa <sup>30</sup>			
49. father-in-law	yi-d-okas	ne-parcu	= n° 16	nin-siniss	n-zi-l'hos	nâ-ciîâ
50. mother-in-law	yi-d-okat	ne-tsewin	= ° 18	nin-sigosis	n-zâgwus	nâ-heiîâ

	WIYOT	YUROK	CREE	OJIBWA	PENOBSCOT	ARAPAHO
51. son-in-law	—	ne-tseu	—	—	—	—
52. daughter-in-law	yi-d-atserap	ne-kep; ne-keptsum (Kr)	ni-nahákí-sim = n° 24; ni-nahákí-sim	ni-ningwan; naán-gish	n-d-alos'uk'w	ná-šáox
53. man's brother-in-law	yi-dak'ir	ne-lei	niskwem <sup>31</sup> n-istaw	ni-ssim; naángani-kwe <sup>31</sup> n-ita	n-səm	= n° 24 ná-ya
54. woman's sister-in-law	—	ne-tsin	n-tákkus	nin-dángwe	na-dzr'k'w	na-tou
55. man's sister-in-law	yi-dats	ne-tсна	n-iliim	n-inim	n-i-ləmu's	ne-i/šábi <sup>e</sup>
56. woman's brother-in-law	—	—	—	—	—	—
57. wife's sister's husband	—	—	—	—	n-i'teus; = n° 32	—
58. husband's brother's wife	—	—	—	—	n-i'tse'kes <sup>33</sup>	—
59. child-in-law's father	—	—	—	—	n-dodem <sup>31</sup>	—
60. child-in-law's mother	yi-derenak	ne-kwa	n-tittáwa	nin-dindáwa	n-dodemisk'w <sup>34</sup>	—
61. father's brother's wife	—	—	—	—	= n° 17	—
62. mother's brother's wife	—	—	—	—	= n° 18	—
63. mother's sister's husband	—	—	—	—	= n° 15	—



	WIVOT	YUOK	CREE	OJIBWA	PENOBSCOT	ARAPAHO
—	—	—	—	—	—	—
64. father's sister's husband	..... 35	..... 35	—	—	== n° 46	—
65. spouse's ne- pew	..... 35	..... 35	—	—	== n° 19 (20)	—
66. spouse's niece	..... 35	..... 35	—	—	== n° 22 (23)	—
67. relative by mar- riage after death of connecting relative	..... 36	..... ne-lsker	—	—	—	—

## NOTES TO TABLE

1. Properly a form derived from baby-talk. The more formal term employed in Penobscot, Abenaki, and Malecite is said by Speck to denote "my generator" (Pen. *nə-mi'tqrgwəs*).

2. Speck gives the same term for great-uncle as for great-grandfather (see no. 10), the same term for great-aunt as for great-grandmother (see no. 11). The etymology ("great-my-grandfather," "great-my-grandmother") suggests that these terms refer primarily to the great-grandparent class. In Wiyot also, it will be observed, the class of grandparent's sibling is identified with that of great-grandparent, though here it is more likely that the primary application is to the former class. In Yurok both classes are merged with the grandparent class.

3. Lacombe remarks (*Dictionnaire*, p. 664): "For the ascending line there are no further degrees of kinship than *my grandfather*, *my grandmother*. One may, however, also say: *my deceased father*, *my deceased grandfather*, for *my ancestors*."

4. I. e., "my grandfather in sequence," "my grandmother in sequence." Equivalent forms in *aniskâtch(i)* are also used in Cree.

5. Baraga defines this term not only as "great-grandchild," but as "a string tied to another, in order to lengthen it." Presumably, the kinship usage is a metaphorical application of the latter.

6. Literally, "great-my-grandchild." Parallel to nos 8-11.

7. I. e., "man's sister's son, woman's brother's son."

8. These second terms are used in an endearing sense.

9. I. e., "man's sister's daughter, woman's brother's daughter."

10. Gifford remarks: "My four Wiyot informants insisted that no terms were used for step-parents or step-children. They declared that individuals standing in such relation to each other were not regarded as relatives."

11. According to whether the speaker is a man or woman.

12. According to Speck, the literal meaning of this term is "one whom I wrap up and protect."

13. Denotes also "maternal half-sibling." For "paternal half-sibling" another term is used: *yi-gutswilan*.

14. Cree *ni-tchivâm* (voc. *ni-tchivwa*) means not only properly "my (male's) brother," but also "my male friend, comrade" (used only by males); in this latter sense is employed also *n-itcbâs* (*w-itcbâs-a* "his

comrade "). *ni-tchivâmiskwew* and *ni-tisâniskwew* are, of course, compounds of *ni-tchivâm* and *ni-tisân* respectively and *iskwew* "woman." With Cree *ni-tisân* compare Delaware *ni-tis* "my friend, companion." Ojibwa *n-idji* is clearly cognate with Penobscot *n-i'dji'e* (Abn. *n-i'dji'a*; Mal. *n-zi'wes'*; Mic. *n-i'dji'e* "my (male's) brother," but does not mean "brother" in its proper sense; Baraga translates it "my comrade, friend, equal" (used only by male to male). Equivalent is *n-idjikiwesi* "my (male's) male friend, comrade." Also *n-idjikiwê* and *n-ikâniss* mean "my (male's) male comrade, friend" as well as "my (male's) brother." That Pen. *n-i'dji'e* also is used in a wider sense ("male co-equal of male") is indicated by its use for "my wife's sister's husband" (n° 57). Ojibwa *n-idji*, *n-idjikiwê*, *n-idjikiwesi* and Penobscot *n-i'dji'e* are evidently compounded with (*w*)*idj(i)* "in company with." These terms are clearly not kinship terms in origin.

15. Not used for "my (female's) sister" properly speaking, for which there seems to be no precise Ojibwa equivalent, but for "my (female's) female friend, companion." It is merely a secondary use of *nin-dângwe* "my (female's) sister-in-law" (see n° 54); cf. also its diminutive form *nin-dângoshe* "my (female's) female cross-cousin" (see n° 44).

16. Kroeber says: "There is another word for 'younger sister' or perhaps 'sister,' *nâtâse*." This term clearly means "my woman" (*hisei*, *-âsei*) and is analogous to Fox *ne-t-e'kwâm<sup>a</sup>*, Kick. *ne-t-e'kwâm<sup>a</sup>*, Mic. *n-kwedji'tc* "my (male's) sister." It is quite likely that Arapaho has terms for "man's brother," "woman's brother," and "woman's sister," but I have no available data. Note that Penobscot and Malecite *nâ-bâhenânum* "my (male's) sister" also denote simply "my woman."

17. Without reference to sex of possessor or to whether linking parent and parent's sibling are of the same sex or not.

18. Kroeber states that "cousins, even of remote degrees of kinship, are called 'brothers and sisters.'" He does not make it clear, however, whether this statement applies to all cousins, as in Yurok, or only to parallel cousins, as in Cree and Ojibwa. The Arapaho terminology for the uncle and nephew classes suggests strongly that only parallel cousins may be termed siblings.

19. "Parallel" cousins are such as are related through parents of like sex ("father's brother's child" or "mother's sister's child"); "cross" cousins, through parents of opposite sex ("father's sister's child" or "mother's brother's child").

20. On p. 670 of his *Dictionnaire Lacombe* gives "*nitchâs*, mon cousin, mon camarade, mon compagnon de parenté," adding that it can be used only by men. Under "cousin" Lacombe states: "pour issu de



cousin germain, les hommes disent aux hommes, mon cousin, *nistchás*; son cousin, *wistchása*. " These terms are clearly identical. Presumably *n-istchás* is more proper, as it is evidently a diminutive based on *n-istáw* " my (man's) brother-in-law " (see n<sup>o</sup> 53), precisely as *n-itimus* is a diminutive based on *n-itim* (see n<sup>os</sup> 55, 56). Similarly, *n-t<sup>h</sup>ákus* (n<sup>o</sup> 44) is based on *n-tákkus* " my (woman's) sister-in-law " (see n<sup>o</sup> 54). Parallel Ojibwa evidence establishes these etymologies beyond cavil: *n-itáwiss* < *n-itá*; *nin-dángoshe* < *nindángwe*; *ni-nimoshe* < *ni-nim*. The development of *t* of Cree terms for sibling-in-law to *tc* in derivative terms for cross cousin is remarkable. Cf. also Pen. *n-i<sup>h</sup>tcus* (n<sup>o</sup> 57), undoubtedly cognate with Cree *n-i(s)tcchás*.

21. *Na-dxrǵwus*, as Speck himself points out, is a diminutive based on *na-dxrǵ<sup>w</sup>* " my sibling-in-law of my sex " (nos. 53, 54); *na-dxrǵ<sup>w</sup>sás<sup>w</sup>kwe* is *na-dxrǵwus* compounded with *-s<sup>w</sup>kwe* " woman "; *na-dxrǵ<sup>w</sup>si<sup>s</sup>* is a double diminutive of *na-dxrǵ<sup>w</sup>*. Speck does not indicate any distinction between parallel and cross cousins. It seems likely, by analogy with Cree and Ojibwa, that where doublets are given, the sibling terms (*n-i<sup>h</sup>dji<sup>e</sup>*, *n-tse<sup>h</sup>kes<sup>u</sup>*) refer to parallel cousins, the derivatives of *na-dxrǵ<sup>w</sup>* to cross cousins. Corresponding doublets are given by Speck or Malecite: *n-zí<sup>w</sup>es<sup>w</sup>*, *na-dagwus* (man's male cousin); *ni<sup>h</sup>-tsekes<sup>w</sup>*, *ni<sup>h</sup>-dak<sup>w</sup>si<sup>s</sup>* (woman's female cousin).

22. Apparently only as endearing vocative.

23. These terms are merely nominal derivatives in *-gan* from verbs denoting cohabitation or marriage.

24. Explained by Speck as indicating " he or she who lives with me. "

25. Gifford remarks that this term is said to mean " my man. "

26. These terms merely mean " my man, male. "

27. Gifford remarks that this term is said to mean " my woman. "

28. These terms merely mean " my woman. "

29. Gifford states that " a co-wife is addressed or referred to by a sister term " (presumably n<sup>os</sup> 30, 31, 33).

30. Cree has two other terms of the co-spouse class, which I am not including in the table because of the lack of comparable terms in the other languages: *ni-kusák* " my co-husband " and *n-táyim* " my co-spouse. " The former is used by a man of another with whom he has the same wife or to whom he has loaned his own wife; *n-táyim* may be used by a woman or man to indicate another woman or man with whom he or his spouse has relations (Lacombe renders " mon concurrent, ma concurrente ").

31. Compounded of n<sup>o</sup> 51 (Cree *nahák-an-*, Ojibwa *naáng-an-*) and *-iskwe-*, *-ikwe* " woman. "

32. Gifford remarks that no terms are applied to the "wife's sister's husband" or to the "husband's brother's wife."

33. Evidently closely related to or identical with *ni-tse'kes'u* "woman's sister, female cousin" (nos. 33; 43, 44). Presumably this term means properly "woman's female companion, co-equal."

34. *N-dodemisk*<sup>w</sup> is compounded of *n-dodem* and *-isk*<sup>w</sup> "woman." This Penobscot term has Algonkin cognates. In Cree *n-totem* is defined by Lacombe as "mon parent, mon allié." In Kickapoo *ne-totāma* is used for "my brother, my sister," apparently a term for sibling, like Wiyot *yi-d-ux*, without reference to sex (of possessor or possessed) or seniority. Evidently the Penobscot (and Malecite) use of the term is specialized from that of "kinsman."

35. For the Wiyot Gifford remarks: "The Wiyot do not regard the spouse of an uncle or aunt as a relative and therefore apply no term of relationship. The same holds for the reciprocal relation, spouse's nephew-niece." For the Yurok he states: "As in Wiyot, no terms are applied to these relatives by marriage, nor do they in turn apply any to their spouses' nephews and nieces. Yurok living with the Hupa sometimes follow Hupa usage and designate relatives of this class as siblings-in-law."

36. Gifford states that Wiyot "terms of affinity were discontinued following the death of the connecting relative." Evidently there is no Wiyot term parallel to Yurok *ne-tsker*.

The table suggests a great many problems which can hardly be solved without considering the possible influence on Wiyot of neighbouring Californian tribes and the almost certain influence of alien tribes east of the Rockies on a number of the properly Algonkin peoples. My purpose here is the very restricted one of pointing out that a number of Yurok or Yurok-Wiyot kinship features that appear isolated in California are closely or approximately paralleled by what seem to be fundamental Plains-Atlantic Algonkin features.

1. All three groups show some evidence of parent-child reciprocity (Wiyot 1 : 4 ; 2 : 5 ; Yurok 1 [voc.] : 3 [cf. Wiyot 1] ; Abn. 1 : Algonkin 5 [cf. Wiyot 4]. In Yurok and Algonkin this uncommon type of reciprocity, or rather a survival of it, is limited to the father-son relation. Wiyot exhibits reciprocity both for father-son and, even more purely, for mother-daughter.

2. In view of the presence in these languages of so uncommon a feature as parent-child reciprocity, the complete absence in all three of grandparent-grandchild reciprocity (see 6, 7, 12), so typically abundant in the Great Basin, the Southwest, California, and Oregon, is highly noteworthy.

3. All three groups agree in making no distinction between maternal and paternal grandparents and, correlatively, between the grandchild through the son and through the daughter. Further, in no case is the grandson distinguished from the granddaughter.

4. At first sight it seems that Wiyot and Algonkin proper contrast with Yurok in the uncle class. Yurok has a single term for uncle (15,16) and a single term for aunt (17,18), whereas Wiyot and all the Algonkin dialects distinguish between the maternal and the paternal uncle and the maternal and the paternal aunt. A closer study of the facts, however, leads to the inference that the differentiation in Wiyot and Algonkin is probably not a fundamental one but is due to independent secondary developments, possibly under foreign influence, within these two groups. First of all, the four Wiyot terms for uncle-aunt are not, each of them, specific and distinct. The term for "father's brother" (-*gatk*) is clearly related to its part-reciprocal -*gau* "nephew," as are -*djo-k* "mother's brother" and -*dju-l* "mother's sister" to the alternative form for "nephew" (-*djuutck*). Curiously enough, it is the term for "father's brother" which is the secondary one, for -*ga-tck* is clearly nothing but a diminutive in -*tck* of a stem -*ga-* that seems to apply primarily to the younger generation (-*ga-u* "nephew"; -*ga-s* "daughter-in-law" [52]). Furthermore, the two terms for "mother's sibling" (16,17) are not radically distinct, but are based on a single stem -*dju-*. On the basis of the internal Wiyot evidence alone, therefore, it is difficult to avoid the hypothesis that Wiyot originally had but two terms for the class, one for the uncle (-*djo-k* or \*-*dju-*, with special reference to the maternal uncle), the other for the aunt (-*bau-k*, with special reference to the paternal aunt). The other two terms are of secondary origin. In any event Wiyot does not possess the typical Californian four-term system, but looks as though it had effected a compromise between such a system and the two-term Yurok system.

The Algonkin facts are roughly parallel to the Wiyot ones. There is evidently no primary Algonkin term for "father's brother." The Cree term is merely a diminutive of "grandmother" (7); the Ojibwa term is closely related to that for "grandfather" (6); the Gros Ventre identify the paternal uncle with the father (as the maternal aunt with the mother); while the Penobscot have a term without wide-spread cognates, perhaps a descriptive term compounded with the common element (*w*)*i'dj-* "together with." There is a distinctive term in all Algonkin dialects for the maternal uncle. There is probably a primary Algonkin term for the maternal aunt (\*-*lo-ss-*), preserved, e. g., in Cree and Ojibwa, but the most common term for the paternal aunt (\*-*së-gvü-ëss-*),



as we have already seen, is a derivative of the term for the maternal uncle (the Penobscot term for "father's sister" is merely a form of that for "grandmother"). In other words, it looks as though the primary Algonkin system was a two-term one, including one for the uncle (with special reference, as in Wiyot, to the maternal uncle), the other for the aunt (with special reference to the maternal aunt). As regards etymology, we may note once again that the Algonkin term for "mother's brother" is related to the Yurok term for "uncle" and the Wiyot terms for "mother's siblings," while the Algonkin (Cree-Ojibwa) term for "mother's sister" is probably cognate to the Yurok term for "aunt."

5. Wiyot and Yurok agree in having respectively undifferentiated terms for "nephew" and "niece," which are distinguished from each other as such (19-21; 22-24). I believe, however, that Kroeber is not quite correct in denying to Yurok reciprocity of the uncle-nephew class. The term for "nephew," *-k-tsum*, can hardly be disconnected from that for "uncle," *-tsim*, *-tsame*-. It is possible also that the term for "niece," *-rame-ts*, is also related to *-tsame*- (see I, 19, 21), but this is less probable. In any case the reciprocity is linguistically obscure; it is a linguistic survival rather than an actual descriptive fact.

In Wiyot there can be no doubt that the terms for "nephew" are related to terms of the uncle class. As we have already seen, *-gau* "nephew" corresponds to *-ga-tck* "father's brother," a diminutive formation; the other term for "nephew," *-djuu-tck*, is an analogous diminutive formation based on *-dju-*, the stem of the terms for "mother's brother" and "mother's sister." Of the two equivalent terms for "niece," one, *-ukutk*, which I have ventured to suggest is to be interpreted as *-ukwa-tck*, may be a diminutive formation from the stem *-oka*- "mother, daughter" (2, 5); the other, *-salibas*, is a distinctive term, possibly descriptive.

In Algonkin proper a distinction is normally made between parallel nephews (and nieces) and cross nephews (and nieces). If we examine the terms carefully, we see almost at once that the relationships of the parallel nephew class (19, 20, 22, 23) are, without exception, properly terms, or derivatives of terms, of the child class (see 3, 4, and 5 [Pen.]). Moreover, the Algonkin dialects differ considerably in the exact choice of terms. This seems to indicate that there were no primary Algonkin terms for "parallel nephew" and "parallel niece," but that an original two-term system ("nephew" and "niece") was overlaid at various times by a more complex system that necessarily followed in the wake of the secondary four-term system for the uncle class, the different dialects naturally choosing terms out of the child class that did not

always agree. It is entirely different with the cross nephews and nieces. The Algonkin dialects consistently distinguish the cross nephew (21) from the cross niece (24) and give unimpeachable testimony for the existence in primitive Algonkin of terms for these relationships (\*-lĕkwa-, \*-lĕkwa-lĕ- "cross nephew" and \*-ssĕm- or \*-ssĕm- "cross niece"). I have already tried to show that the former of these terms is reciprocally related to the Algonkin term for "mother's sister" (originally "aunt" in general?) and that the latter, like its linguistic cognate in Yurok (-rame-, cf. also -k-tsum) is perhaps remotely connected with the term for "mother's brother" (originally "uncle" in general?). The linguistic evidence within Algonkin proper for an original two-term system for the nephew class ("nephew," later specialized to "cross nephew;" "niece," later specialized to "cross niece") is thus by no means bad. Fundamentally, then, primitive Algonkin would seem to agree with Wiyot and Yurok in: 1, rigidly distinguishing sex in the nephew class; 2, recognizing only two primary terms in the class; 3, reciprocity, no longer immediately obvious in Yurok and Algonkin, between "nephew" and the uncle class (possibly also between "niece" and the old term for "uncle"). If there is an absolutely distinctive proto-Algonkin term for the nephew class, it is the term for "niece" that survives in Yurok -rame-ts "niece" and Algonkin \*-ssĕm-, Cree -stim "cross-niece."

6. Leaving aside Wiyot, which has a simplified sibling system (one term) that is rare and perhaps unparalleled in America, we find that the treatment of the sibling class (29-35) is strangely analogous in Yurok and Algonkin. In both groups the terms for sibling fall into two distinct classes. In the first class (29-31) regard is primarily had to the relative ages of the siblings, in the second class (32-35) to the sexes of the siblings (both of person related and of person related to). Further, within the first class of terms, the sex of the person related is distinguished if senior, not distinguished if junior. In other words, Yurok and Algonkin proper have perfectly analogous terms for "older brother," "older sister," and "younger sibling;" further, specific terms for "brother" (of male and female respectively) and for "sister" (of male and female respectively). The distribution of these latter terms is not, to be sure, entirely analogous in Yurok and Algonkin. In Yurok there are distinctive terms for "man's brother," "man's sister," and a stem (-lai, -le-) for "woman's sibling" (specialized to -le-t "woman's sister"), while in Cree (less clearly in Ojibwa) the cross-sex system is used ("man's brother" and "woman's sister" [32, 33]: "woman's brother" and "man's sister" [34, 35]). However, for these terms the Algonkin dialects, as



indicated in the table (32-35), are not altogether in accord. There seem to be two terms that are likely to be primary Algonkin words : a stem *\*-awε-* to indicate the cross sibling (34,35 [Cree, Ojibwa], cf. Yurok *-weyi-ts* "man's sister" ); and a term found in Eastern Algonkin dialects (e. g. 34 [Pen. *-al-n-um*], cf. Yurok *-lai, -le-t*) to indicate, specifically, the woman's brother. The terms for "man's brother" and "woman's sister" probably denote throughout simply "companion, person of same status (in sex and generation)." This is manifestly true of the Algonkin terms (32,33) and is made very probable for Yurok *-pa'* (32) by its linguistic relationship to Wiyot *-bé, abé* "cousin" (36; see also I, 16).

There are other similarities revealed by the table, e. g. the identity of the "wife's brother" and the "man's sister's husband" (53); further, the classing of the "man's sister-in-law" with the "woman's brother-in-law" (55,56: Yurok *-tsni-n, -tsna*). But it is well in a confessedly preliminary study like the present one not to insist on doubtful or unspecific points of similarity. Considering the geographical and cultural break between the Wiyot and Yurok of northwestern California and the main body of Algonkin tribes, no one, I believe, could hope to find a greater linguistic and terminological resemblance between the kinship terms of these two groups of tribes, granted that they are linguistically related, than we have actually found in the course of our study.



PRINCIPAUX ARTICLES PARUS  
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DEUXIÈME SÉRIE.

TOME VIII (1911).

- M. DE PÉRIGNY. Les ruines de Nakcun (3 pl., 1 carte, 2 fig.). — L. DIGUET. Idiome Huichol. Contribution à l'étude des langues mexicaines (1 carte). — E.-R. WAGNER. La chasse chez les Indiens Baticola (1 pl.). — CAPITAN. Le XVII<sup>e</sup> Congrès international des Américanistes (congrès du Centenaire) tenu à Mexico du 7 au 14 septembre 1910. — H. VIGNAUD. Americ Vespuce, ses voyages et ses découvertes devant la critique. — M<sup>me</sup> Zélia NUTTALL. L'évêque Zumarraga et les idoles principales du grand temple de Mexico (1 fig.). — P. RIVET. Affinités du Miránya; La famille linguistique Peba. — DE CHARENCEY. Histoire légendaire de la Nouvelle-Espagne.

TOME IX (1912).

- J. HUMBERT. Les origines et les ancêtres du libérateur Simon Bolivar. Les Bolivar de Biscaye (8 fig.). — L.-C. VAN PANHUY. Les chansons et la musique de la Guyane néerlandaise. — DE CHARENCEY. Histoire légendaire de la Nouvelle-Espagne (*suite et fin*). — H. ALLIOT. Fouilles de Tyuonyi, village préhistorique des Tewa, Nouveau-Mexique (E. U. A.) (3 pl., 1 fig.). — Emile WAGNER. Le rio Salado (mœurs et coutumes). — P. RIVET. Affinités de Tikuna; L'inauguration du monument de E.-T. Hamy (1 pl.). — H. VIGNAUD. Americ Vespuce; l'attribution de son nom au Nouveau-Monde. — E. GUILLEMIN-TARAYRE. Le grand temple de Mexico (1 fig.). — E. NORDENSKIÖLD. Une contribution à la connaissance de l'anthropogéographie de l'Amérique; Etudes anthropo-géographiques dans la Bolivie orientale (9 fig.). — G. DE CRÉQUI-MONTFORT et P. RIVET. Linguistique bolivienne: Le groupe Otukè. — CAPITAN. Compte rendu du Congrès international des Américanistes. XVIII<sup>e</sup> session, Londres, 27 mai-1<sup>er</sup> juin 1912. — Raoul WAGNER. La fille de l'Esprit des Lacs.

TOME X (1913).

- H. VIGNAUD. La question de l'antiquité de l'Homme américain. — F. HESTERMANN. Zur Transkriptionsfrage des Yagan (Feuerland). — M. VALETTE. Note sur la teinture de tissus précolombiens du Bas-Pérou. — C. G. RICKARDS. Notes on the « Codex Rickards » (3 pl., 13 fig.). — H. BEUCHAT. L'écriture maya (920 fig.). — M. UHLE. Die Ruinen von Moche (16 fig., 3 pl.); Zur Chronologie der alten Culturen von Ica (18 fig., 2 pl.). — G. DE CRÉQUI-MONTFORT et P. RIVET. Linguistique bolivienne: La famille linguistique Capakura (1 carte); Linguistique bolivienne: Les affinités des dialectes Otukè (1 carte); Linguistique bolivienne: La langue Saraveka (1 carte). — A. PECORINI. Algunos datos sobre arqueología de la República del Salvador. — L. DE HOYOS SAINZ. Crânes fuégiens et araucans du Musée anthropologique de Madrid (7 fig.). — R. VERNEAU. Une nouvelle collection archéologique du Mexique (3 pl., 5 fig.). — E. SAPIR. Southern Paiute and Nahuatl: a study in Uto-Aztekan. — A.-F. CHAMBERLAIN. Nomenclature and distribution of the principal tribes and sub-tribes of the Arawakan linguistic stock of South America (1 carte).

TOME XI (1914-1919).

- H. VIGNAUD. L'américanisme et la Société des Américanistes. — A. BARNETT. Quelques observations sur le tissage des tissus péruviens (1 fig.); A propos des cushmas péruviennes. — H. BOURDE DE LA ROGERIE. Lettre du curé de la colonie française des îles Malouines. — G. DE CRÉQUI-MONTFORT et P. RIVET. Linguistique bolivienne: La langue Mobima (1 cart.). — G. DE CRÉQUI-MONTFORT, P. RIVET et H. ARSANDAUX. Contribution à l'étude de l'archéologie et de la métallurgie colombiennes (3 fig., 9 pl.). — A. VAN GENNEP. Etudes d'ethnographie sud-américaine (3 fig., 2 pl.). — E. GUILLEMIN-TARAYRE. Le grand temple de Mexico (8 fig.); Les temples de l'Anahuac (1 fig.).



— F. HESTERMANN. Die Schreibweise der Pano-Vokabularien. — TH. KOCH-GRÜNBERG. Ein Beitrag zur Sprache der Ipuriná-Indianer (rio Purus, Brasilien) (4 fig.). — H. KUNKE. Die Phonetik der Karaíá-Sprache. — P. RADIN. The Relationship of Huave and Mixe. — H. ROCHERAUX. Les Indiens Tunebos et Pedrazas (5 fig.). — E. SAPIR. Southern Paiute and Nahuatl; a study in Ulo-Aztekan (*suite et fin*). — A. SCHALK DE LA FAVERIE. La Révolution américaine et la Révolution française. — M. DE VILLIERS. L'établissement de la province de Louisiane, poème inédit de Dumont de Montigny (3 fig.). — M. DE VILLIERS DU TERRAGE et P. RIVET. Les Indiens du Texas et les expéditions françaises de 1720 et 1721 à la « Baie Saint-Bernard » (2 cartes, 2 pl.). — P. WALLE. Les voyages, découvertes et aventures de M. Savage Landor au Brésil.

#### TOME XII (1920).

R. VERNEAU. Sur la répartition en Amérique des poteries décorées au « champlevé ». — P. RIVET. Affinités du Sáliba et du Piaróa; Les Katukina, étude linguistique. — P. RIVET et C. TASTEVIN. Affinités du Makú et du Puináve. — Raoul et Marguerite d'HARCOURT. La musique dans la Sierra andine, de La Paz à Quito. — H. ROCHERAUX. Les Chitarera, anciens habitants de la région de Pamplona, Colombie (fig.). — Ph. MARCOU. Cacao, cacahuet ou cacaoûete. — H. CORDIER. Maspero en Amérique. — Marc DE VILLIERS. Journal inédit du voyage du sergent La Haye, de Cayenne aux chutes du Yari, 1728-1729 (1 carte). — H. FROIDEVAUX. La station des Trois-Rivières (Guadeloupe) et ses pétroglyphes (1 fig., 2 planches). — K. BIRKET-SMITH. Some ancient artefacts from the Eastern United States (1 pl.). — H. VIGNAUD. La tradition colombienne et la découverte de l'Amérique.

#### TOME XIII (1921).

ARSANDAUX (H.) et RIVET (P.). Contribution à l'étude de la métallurgie mexicaine (2 pl.). — CRÉQUI-MONTFORT (G. de) et RIVET (P.). La famille linguistique takana (1 carte). — MARCOU (Ph.). Procédé des Aztèques pour la taille par éclatement des couteaux ou rasoirs d'obsidienne. — NORDENSKIÖLD (Erland). Emploi de la balance romaine en Amérique du Sud avant la conquête. — NUTTALL (Zélia). Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, biographical notes (2 fig.). — RÉAL (Daniel). Un chef-d'œuvre de la céramique péruvienne (1 pl.). — REINBURG (P.). Folk-lore amazonien : légendes des Záparo du Curaray et de Canelos; Contribution à l'étude des boissons toxiques des Indiens du Nord-Ouest de l'Amazone : l'ayahuásca, le yajé, le huánto (3 fig.). — RIVET (P.). Nouvelle contribution à l'étude de la langue des Itonama; Note complémentaire sur la métallurgie sud-américaine. — RIVET (P.) et REINBURG (P.). Les Indiens Marawan (1 pl., 1 carte). — SEVER (Jacques). Chullpas des environs de Pucará (Bolivie) (1 fig., 2 cartes, 1 pl.). — TAVERA-ACOSTA (B.). Nuevos vocabularios de dialectos indígenas de Venezuela. — VIGNAUD (H.). Une ancienne carte inconnue de l'Amérique, la première où figure le futur détroit de Behring. — VILLIERS (Marc de). Note sur deux cartes dessinées par les Chikachas en 1737 (2 planches); Le massacre de l'expédition espagnole du Missouri (11 août 1720) (1 carte).

#### TOME XIV (1922).

CRÉQUI-MONTFORT (G. de) et RIVET (P.). La famille takana (*suite*). — HARCOURT (R. d'). La céramique de Cajamarquilla-Niveria (5 fig., 7 planches). — LE CONTE (René). Colonisation et émigration allemandes en Amérique. — NORDENSKIÖLD (E.). La moustiquaire est-elle indigène en Amérique du Sud ? (1 fig.). — TAVERA-ACOSTA (B.). Nuevos vocabularios de dialectos indígenas de Venezuela (*suite*). — VIGNAUD (H.). Le problème du peuplement initial de l'Amérique et de l'origine ethnique de la population indigène. — VILLIERS (M. de). Documents concernant l'histoire des Indiens de la région orientale de la Louisiane (1 fig.).

NOTA. — Chaque tome renferme en outre de nombreuses analyses des travaux récemment parus se rapportant aux études américanistes, et, depuis 1919, une bibliographie américaniste complète.